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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this yearbook is to examine key aspects of American urban society, to identify issues that are central to all social studies instruction about the city, and to present specific ideas on how teachers can teach about these issues both inside and outside the classroom. Fifteen social scientists and educators contributed articles to the book, centering on the theme: What can social science educators do to involve schools, students and the community in actively participating in efforts to overcome urban problems? The book is divided into three sections: part one discusses problems involving the search for identity in the city; part two focuses on approaches, methods, and materials for teaching about life in the city; and the last section presents some possibilities for the future, both for the urban dwellers and social studies teachers. The yearbook ends with an appendix entitled: The Child in the Urban Environment: A Review of Literature and Research. (FDI)

# Teaching About Life in the City

**Richard Wisniewski, Editor**
**42nd Yearbook 1972**

NATIONAL COUNCIL
FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

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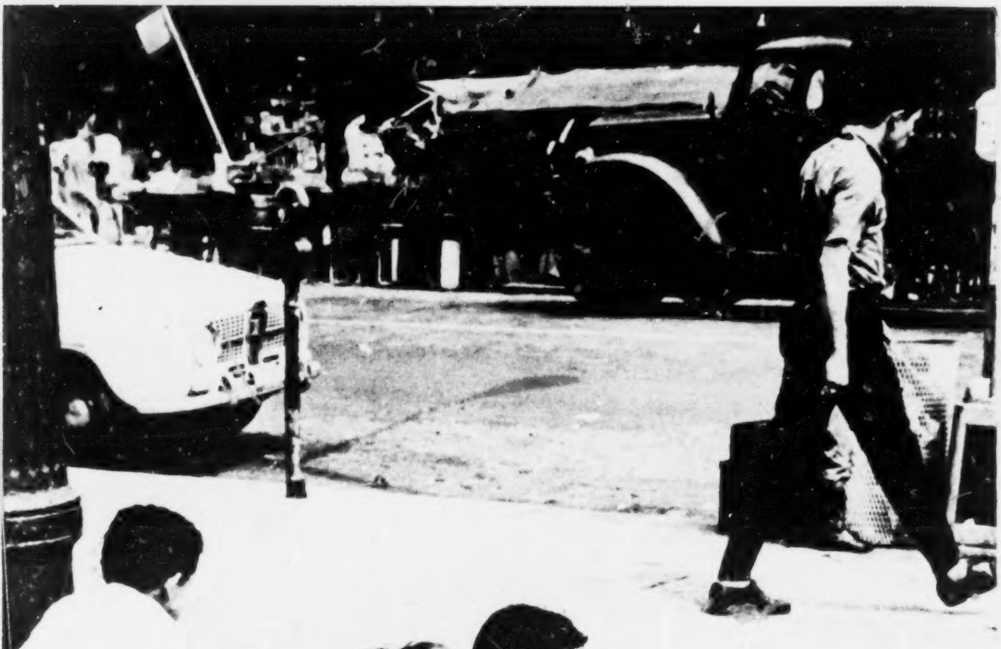

# Teaching About Life in the City

**RICHARD WISNIEWSKI, Editor**

**42nd Yearbook ▪ 1972**

*With 60 photographs and 17 diagrams*

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Dedicated

to

EARL JOHNSON
Lecturer, University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee
Professor Emeritus, University of Chicago
*A dean among social studies educators,*
*whose wisdom keeps all who know him honest.*

and to

DAN DODSON
Professor, New York University
*One of the nation's authorities on human relations,*
*a scholar who practices what he teaches.*

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# ABOUT THE EDITOR

Richard Wisniewski is Associate Dean of the School of Education at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He has been a social studies teacher in the Detroit Public Schools and an associate professor of educational sociology at Wayne State University and the University of Washington. He was a post-doctoral fellow at the Center for Urban Education in New York City and is the author of *New Teachers in Urban Schools.* He is particularly interested in urban education, the reform of educational institutions, and educational alternatives.

*I am grateful to the Publications Committee that selected me for the editorship of this Yearbook. Sincere thanks to Trish Gordon, Mary Griswold, and Bonnie Stroeh for their assistance in preparing the manuscript. Especial thanks go to Daniel Roselle and Willadene Price of NCSS for their excellent work in transforming a manuscript into a book.* — R.W.

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# Foreword

Ours is an urban society. Two-thirds of all Americans live in metropolitan areas and even more in middle-sized and small towns. In a sense, even the countryside is urbanized.

For years cities have been magnets drawing people to hoped-for opportunities. Many came from the farms and rural towns. Immigrants newly arrived on these shores ordinarily got their start in the cities. More recently, minority groups, Blacks, Chicanos, native American Indians, Orientals, and Puerto Ricans, have been the newcomers. Jobs, and so presumably a more desirable place in society, have been the strong attraction. Still, for many, cities were also expected to be places where life was less dull and "things happened," where cultural opportunities were available, where people felt somehow freer to come and go, to live more nearly as they pleased.

So cities grew, or, more accurately, sprawled. It has been characteristic of Americans to move on to the new and to abandon the old. Accordingly, those Americans who could moved to the outer edges of the cities and then increasingly to the suburbs. The inner cores of most cities have been left to fare as best they could and often to deteriorate. But the boundaries among cities and suburbs are only political, and manmade at that. Socially and economically, even politically, cities proper and their suburbs are integrally one. Sensibly speaking, a city is an urban area.

Cities, so defined, are in trouble. Poverty in the midst of affluence, traffic jams and wearying commuting, underemployment for some and "the rat race" for others, poor housing, inadequate public services, racism and ghettos, crime and dangerous streets, the blandness of suburban life, pollution, all these and more are the plagues of urban areas. Governments are in dire financial straits, while metropolitan government is too fragmented to make the political process effective. Perhaps most serious of all has been the loss of a feeling of community.

There is no getting away from these problems. Americans can no longer simply move on or out. Suburbs can be no refuge from metropolitan problems. A better quality of living in America has to mean now a better quality of urban living. If the promise of city life has been largely unfulfilled, the feeling persists that it could be attained. The increase in knowledge of the workings of society, the products of modern technology, reordered national priorities—using our heads and our hearts—should make these promises closer to fulfillment.

Education as a whole and that part which is social studies education are out of kilter with urban living. Discontent with schools is pervasive. While schools everywhere are feeling a present financial pinch, differences in education for the well-off and the poor are appalling. It is not just a matter of money. What we have known as schooling seems somehow no longer appropriate for urban society. Schools are too impersonal, too rigid, too removed from the social world around them. Those who live in the school area all too often feel cut off from and shut out of the education of their own children. Chances to learn about city living by seeing it "live," by participating in it actively, are all too scarce. Social studies in schools takes place within four walls, and possibilities there are insufficient for understanding, enjoying, and grappling with urban life. Education in the social studies—and schools as wholes—need not just talk about change, but change.

This is, then, a significant Yearbook. It furthers understanding both of present difficulties and possibilities for a better future. It also points to what social education can do, must do. These are our cities, our lives.

The National Council for the Social Studies is deeply indebted to the Yearbook editor, Richard Wisniewski, and to the chapter authors for their thoughtful contributions. What they say deserves careful study translated into active involvement in making social education realistic for urban living.

JEAN FAIR, *President*
National Council for the Social Studies

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# About
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# in the
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# Introduction

## The Social Studies and Urban Life

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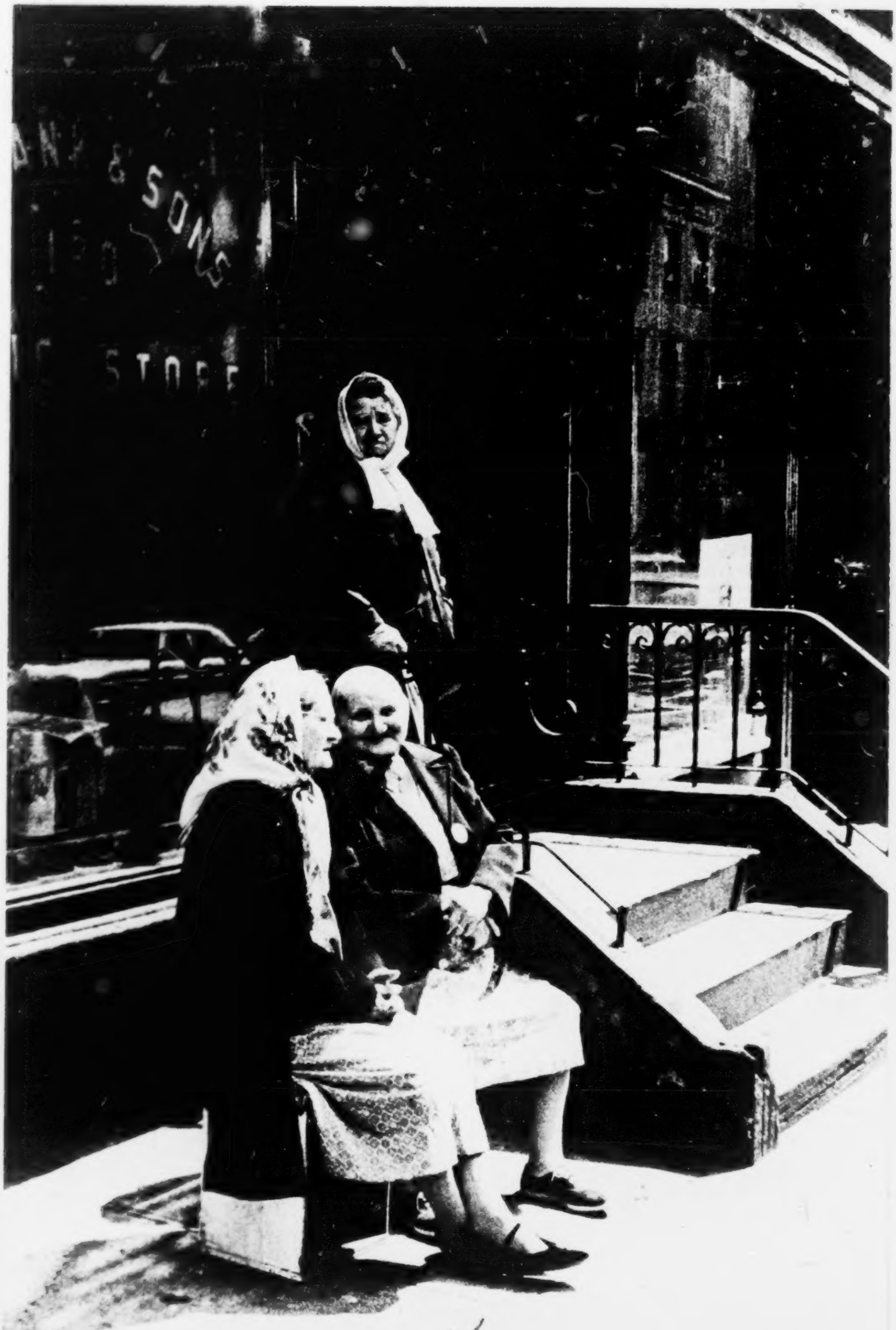
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# The Social Studies and Urban Life

## Richard Wisniewski

The purpose of this Yearbook is to examine key aspects of our urban society, to identify issues that must be central to all social studies instruction about the city, and to present specific ideas on how teachers can teach about these issues inside and outside the classroom. But given the complex maze of urban problems and issues, which ones should be included? Which should be stressed? The fact that the Yearbook exists is evidence that an answer to these questions was found. It is not *the* answer, but it is offered as an answer in process.

In determining an answer, a central premise was that the issues and problems of urban areas are not limited to big cities. If we know anything at all about societal dynamics, it is that social values, problems, and trends do not stop at a city or county line.

Most Americans, for example, will never visit New York City. Yet that city's life style and the fact that it is the locus of the nation's entertainment and financial empires force it on the consciousness of all Americans. One need only to recall the innumerable films, books, and photographs emanating from that city to accent the point being made. New York City in this context is the very essence of urban life; it is part of our urban consciousness, though many of us may never visit it. In this sense, many of us "live" in the metropolitan area of New York City.

Taking another tack, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has the sad distinction of having one of the most racially segregated housing patterns in the United States. The 1970 census shows that fewer Black families live in the suburbs of Milwaukee than is true of any other major city. Given this fact, the borders defining the city of Milwaukee and its various suburbs are essentially racial as well as political boundaries. It is a blatant illustration of housing segregation as a function of racism. To suggest that racial problems are restricted to the core city of Milwaukee since so few Blacks live outside of that core would be at best the opinion of a bigoted fool. Milwaukee, of course, is not unique; similar patterns exist in all major cities. Milwaukee merely holds the current "crown."

In this same vein, is there a fundamental difference between the American who shops at a Sears mail-order store in Montana as contrasted with Americans shopping at the Sears store in Chicago's Loop? Regional and rural-urban differences in life style obviously exist, but they are not as sharp as some believe. The differences are simply not as pronounced as was the case fifty years ago. Whether we live in the central city, in the suburbs, or in rural America, urbanism is a part of all of our lives.

Since this is the case, any number of approaches to urban or metropolitan issues might have been utilized in developing this Yearbook. It might have become an encyclopedic effort. Or it could have focused on a single major issue such as ecology; or on racial and ethnic tensions, reviewing events of the past decade and prophesying the directions in which this nation is headed. If one were of a sensational bent, it could have highlighted viewpoints on the violence and despair of urban life. This aspect of cities certainly exists. But this approach would require a careful analysis of the racial and social class prejudices evident in our tabloids, and in the callousness of those politicians who milk the law-and-order theme for their own gain.

Given the spectrum of issues and problems which can properly be labelled urban, it was difficult to decide which of these options would be most useful. But this is the same type of decision process that each social studies teacher needs to initiate in examining the relevance of his or her work. Thinking through these decisions is critical to any curriculum reform efforts. Urban issues are complex and intertwined; and any selection of issues is exactly that—a *selection*—whether it be for a book or a classroom. But a basic theme did emerge.

## Theme of the Yearbook

Our theme can be stated succinctly: *The social studies curriculum must focus on and teach about the immediate realities and problems facing human beings in the city. Equally important, we must do all in our power to intervene in vital aspects of our urban environment.* The only point to studying any problem is to seek ideas on how that problem may be attacked and on how we can survive whatever implications the problem has for us. If we are to improve the quality of urban life, we must be prepared for something more than the mere cataloguing of trends and issues. Such study is a necessary but insufficient activity.

Urban man is caught in the vortex of all the trends that social studies teachers may or may not have been concerned with fifty or seventy-five years ago. Urban man lives out all of his todays acting out the habits of all his yesterdays—whether it be in terms of yesterday's knowledge, yesterday's teaching, or yesterday's prejudices. The future does not appear overnight. It appears in bits and pieces; it is the result of both action and inaction on the part of men. And much of what we experience as urban dwellers is inhumane—the results of a mass society in which affluence and poverty coexist, each contributing to the other. If the proverbial brotherhood of man is to come about, and if a better life for all, whatever forms it takes, is to emerge, it can only happen if we *deliberately* determine that it must happen.

It is imperative that all of us in the social studies do everything within our power to increase our own involvement and that of our students in the analysis of the quality of our lives and in seeking ways to improve the quality of urban life. This position calls not just for an urban-oriented social studies curriculum, but for a total reform of schools whereby they become laboratories for both teachers and students. Schools certainly perform a vital function when they encourage people to review the past, to reflect on the future and to take time to think. This is a legitimate function, but it should not be the only function of the schools.

Many argue that the scholarly function is the *only* true purpose of schools and that any type of social involvement will lead to the end of schools as we know them. The position explicit here is that the end of schools as we know them is something we must seriously consider. Schools, as is true of all institutions, must be restructured so that they actively contribute to improvements in the quality of life for one and all.

We are beginning to see some evidence that this view is gaining strength. Even in traditional schools, curricula now include problem-solving approaches; more and more of us are beginning to encourage students to analyze local community problems. In the alternative school movement, this approach is even more pronounced, with teachers joining their students in a range of new activities, some of which include social action. We are still a long way from addressing the issues raised almost forty years ago by George Counts in *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* But we are perhaps coming closer to facing those issues than when Counts first enunciated them for us.

Any Yearbook that purports to deal with teaching about life in the city and then merely catalogues various issues without also dealing with the ways in which teachers and students can become involved in the solution of these problems would not be useful to members of the National Council for the Social Studies. This Yearbook, indeed, outlines some of the trends and issues in urban life. *But the central theme is on what we can do to involve our schools and our students—and ourselves—in actively participating in efforts to overcome the urban ills.* The emphasis here is on things teachers can do to encourage students to become personally involved in seeking ways to improve the quality of urban life.

As is always the case when an exhortation is uttered, we must examine our personal values—either as the enunciator or recipient of the exhortation. What in our own upbringing and experience prepares us for a rational examination of all that needs to be done? For some, it is easier to retreat to hoary admonitions that the best of the past must be preserved; that we should not jump on new bandwagons; that we should be wary of fads; that we should recognize all of the problems inherent in students and teachers actively participating in social action activities; and so on.

All of the authors and the editor are aware of these and other issues. In addition, we are not in perfect accord regarding the best approaches to urban curriculum reform. We all have our own view of how far teachers ought to be willing to go to support the ideas being proposed. How far one goes, and how much commitment one brings to the new approaches are not issues that are resolved by a book. They can only be resolved when people grapple with them in their own institutions. They will be resolved when, for example, teachers and students deal with these ideas in the context of their own schools. Who knows which views will win out? The main point here is that we must become personally involved in the debate: what is *our* school or *our* department willing to do? There are clusters of teachers in every school system who have been doing this for years, and frequently it is a social studies teacher who provides the needed leadership. These persons are the true source of the ideas proposed here.

An urban social-action curriculum is fraught with value and moral implications. It would be a curriculum contrary to traditional approaches in our field. It would be a curriculum that would inevitably generate controversy. But is that not the essence of education? If we are unwilling to deal with these questions and issues in our schools, we are far more priests married to a litany than we are teachers.

We all live on the brink of the future, yet few of us are questioning the assumptions on which we stand and their implications for the future. Many of us are frightened of seriously examining assumptions, materials, and organizational patterns that have made our lives as social studies teachers secure. But if that is truly the case, then those calling for an end to schools are right. The only direct way to respond to this challenge is to candidly analyze *who* and *what* we are as social studies teachers. We will find some things to preserve and to be proud of, but we will also find much that no longer has any meaning for our society.

Our goal here is to provide some insights into how students and teachers can be "turned-on" to the city. In order for this to happen, social studies teachers must first be "turned-on" themselves to urban issues. Some of us are—some of us are not. Some of us actually believe we can "teach" about our cities when we are afraid to drive downtown to shop. Many of us perpetuate the myths and stereotypes of urban life, never seriously attempting to analyze the distortions from the facts. Some of us laugh at Archie Bunker, others of us laugh with him. Some of us teach in urban schools but want nothing to do with the people living near the schools.

We must also be aware of the fact that each time we talk about the "disadvantaged" or the "culturally deprived" or the "core city" or other "urban problems," to some degree we perpetuate negative images of people—no matter how good our intentions. These and other terms are essentially pejorative in nature. They reflect the schism between the "have-nots" and the "haves," and it is the latter who study, moralize and prescribe for the "have-nots." The point not to be forgotten is that no one segment of this society is more important than any other. Each group has its own unique strengths and contributions to make. Recognition of this fact is the basis for a belief in cultural pluralism—and cities have always been the locus of pluralism.

Other points could be made; but the issue is clear. Until we examine our own knowledge of and prejudices toward cities and city people, all the new curricular ideas evolving from the NCSS or any other source will do little good. We either sense the urgency of our times and see the need to help students (and ourselves) understand the dynamics of urban life, the politics of decision-making, and the dangers of a deteriorating environment—or we contribute to a perpetuation of our social ills. To those who share this view, some positive first steps are discussed in the chapters that follow.

## Optimism, Pessimism, and Reality

Some persons view any discussion of urban issues pessimistically. They categorically ignore the strengths and attractions of cities. Those social studies teachers who are afraid to go into downtown areas are hardly objective observers of the urban milieu. Their prejudices and fears outweigh rationality. This is not to say that our cities do not have serious problems, but the mood of pessimism toward cities reflects racial and social class biases that are neither subtle nor pleasant. But even persons deeply concerned with improving the quality of life in our cities are not optimistic. The problems to be resolved are massive and our

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societal responses have been minuscule. Where is there cause for optimism as we view the deterioration of our cities, each with its new civic center overshadowing slums and living conditions reminiscent of Dickens' time? How can we be optimistic when human values are often second in importance to bulldozers, profits, or missiles?

A lack of optimism, however, need not be construed as a lack of hope. Optimism that is not based on a careful appraisal of reality is at best foolhardy and at worst immoral. Pessimism, in contrast, is not necessarily something sinful. Given the immensity of the problems facing the world, some pessimism is certainly called for. But pessimism without hope is equivalent to death. Our culture includes a strong bent toward optimism. This was especially the case when we were a young, expanding nation—moving west and seemingly with endless opportunities. The many international and domestic problems emerging since the end of World War II have not greatly diminished that optimistic view. Even the prospects of an atomic holocaust seem to be accommodated by our *Weltanschauung*.

Our belief in superstars and in "being saved in the final reel" is difficult to extinguish, and many of us hope it never disappears. But at the same time, the quality of life in this society cannot improve without drastic modifications in our national priorities. The only other option is to accept a divided society as a given—a dichotomy which too many of us now view as something eternal. But others are challenging the Biblical dictum that we shall always have the poor with us.

At no other point in the history of this nation have as many people been asking questions about the nature and goals of our society. Questions are being asked by Black militants, Chicanos, welfare-rights workers, and American Indians—groups who have simply reached the point of saying "enough is enough"! Warnings come from biologists and other scientists that if we permit our current patterns of industrial waste and pollution to continue, there is every possibility of altering the fundamental ecological balance of life on this planet. Questions also come from young people who are seeking alternative life styles. They are attempting to clear their minds of that which they have been forced to accept throughout their earlier socialization experiences. They are seeking to build a life which is not competitive and that is not predicated on stomping on one's fellows. The various "Greening of America" trends and fads of the past few years reflect these attempts.

Any society in which these questions are becoming more and more openly discussed has a chance. But our national response to this chance is not one that would inspire any optimism. Whether we look to our politicians, to our academicians, or to the "common sense" of the body politic, we see little that would encourage anything other than pessimism.

We seem hell-bent on continuing to repeat all of the segregation, housing, transportation, and economic patterns that have made us "the greatest nation on earth."

There is no doubt that the technology harnessed over the past century has provided a standard of living unequalled in the history of mankind for a fairly sizeable portion of our society. But how many of us truly recognize that our society can no longer maintain a standard of living that is excellent for some and desperately poor for others and claim to be a democracy? Do we recognize the incredible human cost in hoping that things will get better by slow, incremental steps? These are among the questions that led to this Yearbook. To what degree are social studies teachers prepared to grapple with these questions with their students? And it must be a joint grappling. The issues are too big for each of us to work on them separately.

Then, too, just how many answers do we as teachers have to offer? Is there any group of teachers in America that is more steeped in the basic values of our society than social studies teachers? All of those history and political science credits we earned have a way of becoming a part of us. Are we so steeped in them, however, that we fail to see the gaps between ideals and realities? If we see those gaps, we *do* have something to offer: the willingness to work toward the full implementation of those ideals for all Americans. That is not something one teaches. It is something one lives. The quality of our existence and of our lives is dependent not on our *telling* other people what that existence should be like, but in our *working* with people in seeking a better life for us all. This calls for schools and curricula to be involved up to their necks in seeking solutions to urban problems; it means controversy; and it means the end of schools—particularly secondary schools—as custodial institutions.

Our urban reality is hard, and the future is not inviting if we continue the patterns of the past—whether they be educational, political, or technological. We need to alter those patterns whenever and wherever they diminish the quality of life of any of us. This means the development of schools that vigorously encourage young and old alike to seek new solutions to social problems. This means that schools must become community laboratories rather than custodians of the young and husbanders of a narrow span of knowledge. Such schools can only emerge if teachers are prepared to truly work with their students; and that will not be easy, given the traditions and experiences that have shaped most teachers, students, and curricula. One can only be pessimistic if one views the future as "more of the same." But there are new ways of working together toward new solutions, and it is in these new ways that some optimism is warranted.

## Preview of the Yearbook

The chapters that follow expand on these and other points. Part One discusses problems involving the search for identity in the city. Part Two focuses on approaches, methods, and materials for teaching about life in the city. Part Three presents some possibilities for the future.

### *Part One: The Search for Identity*

Was it Winston Churchill who said that we build our institutions and then we let them mold us? Life in our urban centers is aptly described by that thought. The intricate web of industrial, business, housing, and transportation patterns that make up the metropolis both serves us and is manned by us. On the one hand, we must have these services to survive and to support the standard of living we have either achieved or are seeking to achieve. On the other hand, we recognize the diminishment of our humanity and of our individuality as we fulfill the roles and tasks defined for us by an industrial society. One has only to observe the flow of rush-hour freeway traffic for one powerful example of how well-conditioned we are to routines and expected patterns of behavior.

Not as obvious is the fact (or is it only an ideal?) that our culture includes a balance between the demands of society and the rights and freedoms of the individual. All of us are involved in defining that balance —whether it be toward increased regimentation or toward a democracy that seeks to preserve humane values. Some of us struggle with this problem in our schools, and even more of us become conscious of it in our personal lives. It is in the urban centers of the nation that the debates and battles over this balance are most visible. There is every reason to believe that this balance will become ever more precarious as population pressures increase and attendant problems multiply. The chapters in Part One clarify some dimensions of the struggle to maintain a balance between societal demands and individual identity.

As we move to an ever more urbanized pattern of living, Daniel Levine's "The Unfinished Identity of Metropolitan Man" will have meaning for an ever greater number of urban dwellers. Professor Levine focuses on a major problem facing us all, i.e., that of alienation. He is concerned with more than just the alienation of the individual child from his parents, as important as that may be. He introduces us to the sociological concepts of alienation and anomie as they appear in a mass society. The concept of anomie suggests that some individuals wander aimlessly in society without any close relationships to the essential goals of that society. While some use the concept of anomie to identify a form of social deviancy, it is now clear that as our society becomes more and more a mass happening, a growing proportion of people is beginning to question where our society is headed and what its true values are. Daniel Levine provides signposts for those of us who would search for our identity in metropolis. He also specifies the implications of these ideas for teachers and schools.

Chapter 2 is a photographic essay entitled "What the City Means to Me." The photographs were taken by four young men who are participants in one of the alternative schools in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. As these young men examined their neighborhood and the city of which they are a part, they took photographs of people and things of interest to them. And as it is true of any creative act, the taking of photographs helps to define for the photographer who he is in relation to that which he photographs. The search for identity, then, is not restricted to quiet moments either of desperation or of contemplation. Our identity is also clarified with each social interaction—whether it be through the lens of the camera or through the unaided eye.

While we all have our own concept of individuality, we also are very conscious of our group identities. Whether those groups be religious, ethnic, racial, age, sexual, or political in nature, we all are the sum of a number of such affiliations. This fact has been strikingly brought home in the events of the Sixties, particularly in the civil rights struggle and the Black revolt. The melting pot concept, while it has some power of explanation, is also to some degree a myth. To some it is more of an ideal than a reality. For others, it is a threat to one's roots and people. To this day, ethnic, religious, and racial overtones permeate implicitly and explicitly all aspects of our society, whether the question is who is to be hired or whom one marries. Deep-seated feelings of group affiliation are always in the background, and more often they are right up front.

Chapter 3 introduces us to a community leader. Those persons most intimately involved in the struggle to achieve social justice in our society have never had an easy life, nor can they see an end to their efforts. Persons who commit their lives to working for social justice are unusual men. Jesus Salas is such a man. In his chapter on "Reflections on Urban Life," he does not deal with the tactics of leading people to full-fledged participation in our society. Rather, he reviews the need for all of us to be conscious of our roots. We all need to listen to spokesmen for racial and ethnic groups in our urban communities. By listening, we learn more about ourselves and the working of our societies. We can learn about values, beliefs, and aspirations that are the very core of humaneness. We also can learn why we must be militantly opposed to all discriminatory practices in our society and in our schools. We either combat them or contribute to their continuance; on this point there is no middle ground.

In Chapter 4, Dan Dodson looks at our racial and ethnic relations and raises three key questions for analysis. While he sees a diminution of the power of some of our racial and ethnic affiliations, the racial schism will continue. No observer of the American scene could conclude otherwise. The aborted war on poverty, the stripping bare of prejudicial patterns, and all of our efforts to achieve social justice have borne little fruit. The optimist would say "we are getting there," but no one would argue that the struggle is over. And the pace at which "we are getting there" is no comfort to those who suffer indignities. Our ghettoized housing patterns and segregated school patterns continue, and none of our efforts to alleviate the cancer of racism have cut deeply enough into our societal tissue.

### *Part Two: The Student, the City, and the Curriculum*

As we examine the statements in this section calling for a social studies curriculum sharply focused on urban life, we are forced to contemplate the need for profound reforms: ninety percent or more of what we have taught in our social studies classes over the past fifty years must be challenged. Our almost fanatic emphasis on the past is in no way a satisfactory preparation for persons seeking to find their ways of life in the final quarter of the twentieth century. Some appreciation and understanding of the origins of the nation and of critical points in the nation's social history are of vital import. While it is possible through historical analogy to offer some insights into current problems, the focus of the social studies curriculum must be concentrated on the present and on the future. This is contrary to what most of us have experienced and what most of us continue to teach in the social studies. The dead hand of the past must be removed from our shoulders once and for all.

It is recognized that some will react negatively to this pronouncement. It is to be anticipated that most of us would react negatively to some degree—given our experiences, our training, and that which we have been expected to teach for generations. It is difficult to visualize a curriculum exclusively oriented toward the present and future since most of us have had little or no experience with such a curriculum, either as teachers or as students. It is also unrealistic to assume that the basic patterns of social studies materials and instruction will simply wither away and disappear overnight. We are making progress, however. Step by step, we are developing new approaches and they are slowly becoming accepted as legitimate parts of the curriculum. We have a long way to go, but many beginnings have been made.

Chapter 5 by Anna Ochoa and Rodney Allen presents a wide range of teaching-learning experiences that provide new pathways for teachers to follow in helping students to become aware of the issues confronting people in the city. As is true with all of the selections in this section, their emphasis is on *concrete illustrations* of the types of materials that provide teachers and students with opportunities to learn more about urban life, to become sensitive to the issues in urban life, to engage in community research activities, to initiate skill-building activities, and to start social action programs.

In his "Liberating the Black Ghetto: Decision-Making and Social Action," James Banks provides a convincing argument for why it is vitally important for Black children to become involved in decision-making activities. The few racial equality gains of the past decade will only survive if more and more Black and white children learn ways to challenge inequities and biases. A similar theme is developed in "Geography, Social Action and the Black Community" by O. Fred Donaldson and George Davis. Utilizing concepts from geography, the authors provide many illustrations and materials that should encourage students to become geographers of their own urban environments.

All of the chapters in Part Two focus not only on ways by which students can learn about the urban environment, but also clearly illustrate ways by which the city and its schools can become *laboratories for learning.* This latter point is made effectively by James Saad in his "Exploring Urban Cultural Variations Through Anthropology." Based on experiences with community college students in Detroit, the author describes a range of firsthand explorations from which students can learn. Ours is a pluralistic society and there is no substitute for meeting and working with people in order to gain an appreciation of that pluralism. The rationale for the activities described is of tremendous importance to any truly vital social studies program, but one must value pluralism in order to emulate some of the activities which are described by James Saad.

The ideas offered in this part of the Yearbook are in the mainstream of social studies developments. They are not too "far out"; they are ideas that can be utilized *now* by any teacher ready to push forward. No profound change of the structure of the social studies curriculum is needed to utilize these ideas. It is to be anticipated, however, that the increased use of these new materials and approaches will lead to the diminution of programs that have formed the backbone of the traditional social studies.

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## *Part Three: Possibilities for the Future*

The final part of the Yearbook projects our thinking into the future. Space limitations prevent any full exposition of urban trends or of the directions in which we are heading. Material on these trends abounds, and this section merely suggests two basic ideas.

As one drives from one American city to another, one may conclude that the entire nation will someday consist solely of gas stations, Colonel Sanders' chicken stands, and discount department stores. This superficial impression suggests the fantastic growth of urbanism and standardization that those of us living in this century have experienced. It is interesting to speculate whether or not children born in 1972 will have the same sense of wonder vis-à-vis urban growth as do persons in their sixties who remember American cities as they were fifty years ago. One must assume that youngsters now in school will live through even more profound changes than have occurred over the past fifty years.

Given our experience with urban renewal—which has been as disjointed as the late skirmish on poverty—one can also assume that the new metropolises of the year 2000 will not appear full-blown. They are already evolving out of those cities and conditions in which we presently live, and they will reflect both new and old patterns. Professor Constantinos Doxiadis provides an introduction to the basic patterns of urban development throughout the world in his "Man Within the City." He offers us a glimpse of the rate at which these developments will continue and where we may be heading.

The final chapter, "Social Studies Teachers and the Future," is by Richard Davis and Pauline Tesler. The authors describe alternative life styles that are found in our major cities and that appear to be becoming ever more plentiful in variety. They outline the implications of these life styles for teachers working with younger people. The generation gap is clarified as they raise questions related to what those of us who are not familiar with alternate life styles can offer to children who will be living in a future that is quite different from our pasts.

## *Appendix*

The Yearbook ends with an Appendix that contains a review of literature focused on "The Child in the Urban Environment" by O. Fred Donaldson and Robert A. Aldrich. The authors have reviewed many sources related to the development of children in urban centers. Their article provides insights into what many of us so often take for granted—the city as viewed through the eyes of a child.

This Yearbook makes no claims to being an in-depth analysis of the conditions of urban life. Nor does it purport to offer glossy and ready-made solutions to the complicated problems of the city. It is, however, a book for *teachers* and about concrete ways in which *teaching* about life in the city can be strengthened. If that goal has been achieved, it will be well worth the efforts of the many individuals involved in the preparation of this volume.

The responsibility for the tone and organization of the Yearbook is mine, but the heart of the volume consists of chapters composed by the individual authors. My sincere thanks to each of them, not only for their contributions, but also for the exceptionally pleasant experience of working with them.

# Part One

# The Search for Identity

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# 1. The Unfinished Identity of Metropolitan Man

Daniel U. Levine

Professor Daniel U. Levine *is the director of the Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education at the University of Missouri–Kansas City. He spent the academic year of 1971-72 on a Fulbright assignment in Greece. Since earning his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago in 1963, Professor Levine has been active in a wide range of professional and community activities. From 1966 to 1969, for example, he served as chairman of the education committee of the Greater Kansas City Council on Religion and Race. He has also served on a variety of urban education and teacher education task forces and committees. He is the author or coauthor of numerous monographs and articles focused on educational issues in the urban environment and, with Robert J. Havighurst, he is coauthor of* Education in Metropolitan Areas. *He also recently edited two books titled* Farewell to Schools??? *and* Models for Integrated Education *in the National Society for the Study of Education series on Issues in Contemporary Education.*

◆

## Introduction

Dark and cold we may be, but this
is no winter now. The frozen misery
of centuries breaks, cracks, begins to move,
the thunder is the thunder of the floes,
the thaw, the flood, the upstart spring.
Thank God our time is now when wrong
comes up to face us everywhere,
never leave us till we take
the longest stride of soul man ever took.
Affairs are now soul size.

from Christopher Fry, *A Sleep of Prisoners*[1]

Of all the problems of metropolitan development described and analyzed in this Yearbook, the ones which probably will be most difficult to overcome will be those associated with the confusion currently so unmistakable in the attitudes and behavior of middle-class youth.

When dealing with the problems of metropolitan poverty ghettoes, we can be fairly confident that eliminating the oppression and isolation that produce such problems would do much to solve them. Similarly, the problems caused by urban sprawl are easy to identify as originating in governmental fragmentation. Once the cause is recognized, it is not difficult to suggest policies that reasonably could be expected to provide a solution. In each case, at least we can be fairly certain of what might be done to avoid disaster, even if it is unlikely that action will be taken in time. The malaise of middle-class youth in the metropolis, by way of contrast, is a more elusive phenomenon which is not yet adequately understood. About all we can be sure of is that in the future the underlying social changes responsible for the massive psychological dislocation now taking place in the middle class are going to produce more youth who do not feel at home in the modern metropolis.

There are countless points of view concerning the causes and consequences of this contemporary psychological dislocation, not all of which provide equally useful insights for the schools in general or the social studies in particular. Because the remedial measures that might offer solutions to a problem generally are implicit in a correct reading of it, diagnostic analysis is the most important stage in determining what could or should be done. Of all the many plausible points of view that might have been presented in diagnosing the emerging plight of Metropolitan Man, those included in this chapter were chosen because it was felt they have direct implications for deciding issues of curriculum and instruction in the social studies.

## The Spirit of Metropolitan Man

No one type of person, of course, can embody so amorphous a concept as "Metropolitan Man." In another sense, however, it is legitimate to use this label in describing a general type of individual who represents major trends in metropolitan society in order to highlight the direction in which such a society has been moving in the past and is likely to move in the future.

Following this usage, the term "Metropolitan Man" is used in this chapter to refer to the type of person emerging in a society in which science, technology, and urbanization have partly outdated the social philosophies and cultural patterns that governed people's lives in preindustrial times. Because a large proportion of people in the metropolis is already middle class, and because still higher proportions of the population will be middle class in the future, the "spirit" of Metropolitan Man is the spirit of the emerging middle classes. By the same token, whatever problems are posed by the emergence of a particular type of person representative of the modern metropolis will be with us for a long time to come.

Although there inevitably will be small subgroups of individuals who exemplify divergent trends in the development of Metropolitan Man, the emphasis in this chapter will be on the characteristics and problems of large groups of people broadly representative of the general concept. For example, the major focus of concern will not be on a small but important subgroup of extremely alienated upper-middle-class youth, but rather on trends discernible among the middle-class masses spread throughout the metropolitan area. I will be most concerned, in other words, not so much with the hippie youth who frankly rejects the school and other "establishment" institutions as with the large numbers of middle-class youth who typically go through the motions in our classes even though we sense that they have little real interest in what takes place there.

Portrayals of the hard-working, rather narrow-minded middle-class citizen of an earlier day probably are fairly accurate in describing the spirit of City Man in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but they have little applicability as images of man in the modern metropolis. What, then, does express the spirit of Metropolitan Man?

Shaped by the same forces which have transformed a stable, predominantly rural country into a dynamic, largely urban nation, Metropolitan Man is the beneficiary of the vast new opportunities produced by a highly-developed, industrial economy. Liberated by improvements in transportation from the relatively limited confines of a rural or small-town way of life, he is comparatively free to move about physically outside as well as inside the growing metropolis. By taking advantage of quantum gains in communications he is in a position to pursue a range of interests and diversions which only fifty years ago were unavailable even to the extremely wealthy. Living in a time when traditional fixed principles have been discredited to the extent that they no longer serve to guide daily life, Metropolitan Man is no longer subject to many of the material and cultural constraints that made the lives of previous generations tedious and narrow.

In a society in which the old fixed principles have lost much of their power and in which there are a myriad of opportunities for pursuing a wide range of interests, Metropolitan Man finds it natural to shift from one activity to another, usually in search of more exciting and satisfying diversions. John B. Orr and F. Patrick Nichelson have examined this tendency in the modern metropolis at some length in their book on *The Radical Suburb,* which they introduce as a study of the forces "that have succeeded in creating a new culturally revolutionary class" among middle-class Americans (the term "suburb" in this work refers to cultural characteristics of the middle class as a whole and is not limited to inhabitants of suburban parts of the metropolitan area).[2]

To Orr and Nichelson, "the radical suburbanite [i.e., middle-class man] is an *expansive personality*—an expansive man, devoted to the process of enlarging his experience, enlarging the number of perspectives within which his world can be perceived and felt, enlarging awareness of his own sensual and intellectual capabilities and enlarging his ability to be playful with ideas and possessions."[3] Freed of much of the "primal" economic burdens and many of the associated fears and ambitions of the past, Expansive Man must manufacture new emotions—hence his apparent belief that "a bad trip may be better than no trip at all."[4] He is a product, in other words, of the underlying forces of science and technology which undergird the modern metropolis.

> . . . it is a very short step from the empirical notion that truth is what is verifiable by experience to the expansive belief that experience itself is valuable. . . . From there it is but another short step to the notion that the richest life is the one that includes the most varied kinds of experiences. The style of the suburban radical is not as it appears—a backlash against the stainless-steel grayness of a scientific atmosphere—but instead is the predictable spin-off from a culture that is infatuated with scientific experimentalism.[5]

In later sections of *The Radical Suburb,* Orr and Nichelson proceed to describe how the style of the new middle-class American is manifested in recreation and leisure, the family, popular culture, and other aspects of daily life. Originating in empirical openness to experience, Expansive Man's concerns are with

> process, technique, creativity, style, imagination, sensuality, aesthetic satisfaction. . . . Sin is being closed, being static, not recognizing what there is to see, being blind, not affirming the worth of the physical . . . and failure arises out of forces, both personal and social, that serve to kill interests and to turn people in upon themselves.[6]

With their description of middle-class Americans expansively sampling the varied experiences and diversions of the modern metropolis, Orr and Nichelson provide as useful a summary as we have of the prospective glories of metropolitan life in the post-industrial age. Not surprisingly, however, Metropolitan Man adrift in the uncharted seas of a brave new world is faced with new challenges every bit as protean as the possibilities for growth and enjoyment made available in the modern metropolis. The satisfactions of the expansive life style, that is to say, are not being experienced without dreadful cost to the individual and to society—there is trouble aplenty in Metroland. As Orr and Nichelson correctly point out, for example, "the radical suburbanization of the metropolitan area has meant that the fun of the middle-class radical" is being "secured at the expense of underprivileged populations. . . unsupported city services, illiberal tax schedules, starved public resources, and irrational approaches to problems of urban education, air pollution, mass transportation, and public housing."[7] Since this series of related political and economic problems is explored in other chapters of the Yearbook, this chapter will concentrate on several psychological and social-psychological problems of Metropolitan Man which are going to become increasingly salient in the future, regardless of whether we do or do not find solutions to more immediately critical issues involving social class, race, and ecology in the metropolitan area.

## The Problem of Urban Unreality

When then in memory I look back
To childhood's visioned hours I see
What now my anxious soul doth lack
Is energy in peace to be
At one with nature's mystery:
And Conscience less my mind indicts
For idle days than dreamless nights.

from Walter de la Mare, *Dreams*[8]

During the next decade, there will be a continuous increase in the proportion of people—particularly young people—who feel little sense of "taken for grantedness" about the physical, social, and perceptual metropolitan environment in which we grow up and live. At one level, the feeling of being adrift in an unreal world is being produced primarily by the natural succession of generations in a time of transition from one historical epoch to another—in other words, a time when cultural patterns and artifacts are accumulating into a complex overlay that is difficult to experience as real partly just because it is so complex and partly because generations which come at the end of a historical era have the secondhand task of *learning* a culture rather than the firsthand task of *building* it.

Few have described the genesis of feelings of existential unreality better than the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset. Early in the twentieth century, Ortega foresaw many of the problems which Western culture increasingly would be faced with as it moved into its post-industrial phases. Comparing this transformation with two earlier historical periods (the early Christian era and the Reformation) also characterized by massive changes in attitudes and behaviors associated with a growing sense of social unreality, Ortega wrote that:

> He who receives an idea from his forebears tends to save himself the effort of rethinking it and recreating it within *himself*. This recreation consists in nothing more than repeating the task of him who created the idea, that is, in adopting it only in view of the undeniable evidence with which it was imposed on him. He who creates an idea does not have the impression that it is any thought of his; but rather he seems to see reality itself in immediate contact with himself. There, then, are man and reality, both naked, one confronting the other with neither screen nor intermediary between them.
>
> On the other hand, the man who does not create an idea but inherits it finds between things and his own person a preconceived idea which facilitates his relationship with things as a ready-made recipe. . . . He works and lives on top of a stratum of culture which came to him from the outside, on a system of alien opinions come to him from other personalities. . . .
>
> In the fourteenth century man disappeared beneath his social role. Everything was syndicates, guilds, corporations, states. Everybody wore the uniform of his office, even to the cut of his clothing. Everything was conventional form, preordained and settled; everything was ritual, and infinitely complicated.
>
> Knowledge, for example, was presented in a form so intricate, so overloaded with distinctions, classifications, arguments, that there was no way in so overgrown a forest to discover the repertory of clear and simple ideas which truly orient man in his existence.[9]

In the modern metropolis, similarly, advances in science and communications have created an inherently complex culture which is more and more experienced as "unreal" simply because in many respects the phenomena it deals with are so far removed from daily life. No one, for example, has ever seen an electron with his own, unaided eyes, nor has anyone ever seen either the "average" respondent in a national poll or the underlying linguistic structure of a language. As everyone knows, even an unquestioned genius no longer can master more than a fraction of the body of knowledge which exists in his field of specialization, much less in disciplines other than his own. In addition, science and technology are transforming the physical and social environment so rapidly that the culture in which youngsters are socialized tends to portray the world that *was* rather than the world that *is*. For all these reasons it has become increasingly difficult for people—particularly youth—to experience their surroundings as authentic and to feel psychologically at ease in a "real" environment.

If the major purpose of this chapter were only to launch another broadside at science and technology, I could end right here, with some readers probably feeling pleased that these villainous forces had received yet another measure of public scorn and others feeling outraged that still another one-sided attack had been made on a convenient target. But I have chosen to begin with a lengthy quotation from Ortega because I believe that it offers crucial insights into the contemporary plight of man in the metropolis.

Notice that Ortega is concerned with the interaction between perceptions of reality and perceptions of identity: unless an individual's surroundings seem sufficiently "real," he will have trouble establishing a comfortable and secure identity. Identity is created and validated partly by testing oneself against—and to an extent by rebelling against—an environment which forces an individual into meaningful acts of self-definition. Conversely, unless or until an individual achieves an identity that satisfactorily expresses his "selfness," his physical and social surroundings are likely to seem ethereal and insubstantial. Since perceptions of reality and identity are so closely and reciprocally interrelated, it follows that an age of unreality is also going to be an age of identity confusion; hence it is no surprise that our own era of technology and suburbanization is often described in terms of Metropolitan Man's "identity crisis."

Two additional points should be noted before considering how man reacts to the identity crisis which has been brought on by metropolitanization.

First, the concept of identity crisis immediately calls attention to the *pervasive anxiety* generated in the struggle for self-definition. Since most people will tolerate only limited amounts of anxiety before trying in one way or another to establish a more satisfactory identity, Metropolitan Man's search for identity must be of elemental concern in any discussion that begins with the problem of unreality in the environment of the modern metropolis.

Second, another important characteristic of an age of perceived unreality is *severe boredom*—simply because for most of us interests only arise out of or in engagement with a subjectively real environment. The search for identity as it is shaped by conditions of boredom and anxiety in the modern metropolis is the subject discussed in the next section of this chapter.

## Unreality, Boredom, and Identity in the Metropolis

Let us then
Consider rather the incessant Now of
The traveller through time, his tired mind
Biased towards bigness since his body must
Exaggerate to exist, possessed by hope,
Acquisitive, in quest of his own
Absconded self yet scared to find it
As he bumbles by from birth to death
Menaced by madness; whose mode of being,
Bashful or braggart, is to be at once
Outside and inside his own demand
For personal pattern. His pure I
Must give account and greet his Me,
That field of force where he feels he thinks,
His past present, presupposing death
Must ask what he is in order to be
And make meaning by omission and stress,
Avid of elseness.

from W. H. Auden, *The Age of Anxiety*[10]

Vanity of vanities, says the Preacher,
vanity of vanity! All is vanity.
What does man gain by all the toil
  at which he toils under the sun?
A generation goes and a generation comes,
  but the earth remains forever.
The sun rises and the sun goes down,
  and hastens to the place where it rises.
The wind blows to the south,
  and goes round to the north;
  round and round goes the wind,
  and on its circuits the wind returns.
All streams run to the sea,
  but the sea is not full;
  to the place where streams flow,
  there they flow again.
All things are full of weariness;
A man cannot utter it;
  the eye is not satisfied with seeing,
  nor the ear filled with hearing.
What has been is what will be,
  and what has been done is what will be done;
  and there is nothing new under the sun.

Ecclesiastes 1:1-11

Perhaps the most notable thing about Metropolitan Man's search for identity in a time of rapid change and unconvincing reality is in the very openness of the search. In contrast to earlier periods of history, most youngsters growing up in a modern metropolis are relatively free to explore alternative ways of being and becoming. Division of labor and specialization have created myriad occupational possibilities for the educated person. Mobility and the decline of traditional occupations have made it less likely that a youngster will be raised to follow in the footsteps of his father or grandfather or uncles. Instantaneous communications are acquainting young people with alternative life styles and philosophies of living not just from nearby regions but from the furthest reaches of the earth. Increasingly, Metropolitan Man can try to become what he wants to be with relatively few limitations imposed in the form of inherited social statuses and cultural habits.

But when "Anybody can be anybody," Orrin Klapp has observed, it may be that "nobody can be somebody."[1] Psychologists and sociologists have offered many enlightening perspectives concerning the boredom people tend to experience when faced with a wide range of choice in establishing an identity in a subjectively unreal environment. To a significant degree, the identity confusion of emerging Metropolitan Man cannot be separated at all from the boredom and anxiety with which it is so inextricably intertwined. When the environment in which a person lives seems unreal, after all, it is difficult to feel satisfied either with the world or with oneself; in this case, one may be alternately bored with the times or the self, or with both equally. When the world seems constantly empty and meaningless, similarly, it is natural to fall into a generally depressed state with few peaks and valleys of emotion; in this case the shallowness of the emotions one experiences makes it difficult to establish and assert an active and positive sense of self.

Other aspects of identity formation which are relevant in this discussion are the obvious facts that our identities are established and validated in interaction with other people and with the social and physical obstacles against which we test and solidify our sense of who we are. Unless our interactions with others reinforce our sense of self, and unless we have opportunities to find out what we can accomplish in overcoming major obstacles in our environment, our self-definitions are apt to be malleable and shifting. Of course, it is desirable to have an unfinished identity in the sense of being open to new experience and ideas but like anything else openness to identity change can be a surfeit of a good thing, if only because too much impermanence in self-definition can destroy the sense of self which is to be fulfilled. When a student comes to school looking one week like Joe Namath, another week like Dean Acheson, and the following week like Buffalo Bill Cody, he may be in the process of choosing a style which will be an authentic and comfortable expression of his personality; on the other hand, he may be mindlessly running from—and therefore compounding—feelings of emptiness and meaninglessness—in which case we can hardly hope to concern him much with the causes of the Revolutionary War or the problems of government structure in a representative democracy.

As noted above, toward the end of the industrial era inherited cultural patterns not only lost touch with (perceived) scientific realities but also became too complex and artificial to be believed or even understood, thus leading to a sense of boredom and emptiness and resultant dislocations in the identity of Metropolitan Man. In addition, other characteristics of the modern metropolis which also have a negative effect on identity formation are the impersonality and the bureaucratic organization of urban society. Impersonality, as sociologist George Simmel pointed out in the late nineteenth century, serves to reduce and make manageable what otherwise would be the sensory and informational overload of life in a dense urban settlement. Unfortunately, however, it also serves to make many of one's contacts superficial and abstract, thereby reducing opportunities to validate identity through interaction with others and through emotive expression of a unique sense of self. In Simmel's words:

> . . . the metropolitan type of man . . . develops an organ protecting him against the threatening currents and discrepancies of his external environment which would uproot him. He reacts with his head instead of his heart. . . . The reaction to metropolitan phenomena is shifted to that organ which is least sensitive and quite remote from the depth of his personality. . . . Punctuality, calculability, exactness are forced upon life by the complexity and extension of metropolitan existence. . . . These traits must also color the contents of life and favor the exclusion of those irrational, instinctive, sovereign traits and impulses which aim at determining the mode of life from within, instead of receiving the general and precisely schematized form of life from without.[12]

Bureaucracy, which is the principle of impersonality applied systematically at the institutional level, similarly constitutes an attempt to deal with the complexity of urban society by reducing information overload through the use of rational rules and regulations. But bureaucracy, as all of us know from personal experience, often helps to fracture an individual's sense of worthwhile self-ness by defining and treating its clients as partial persons whose needs and services are assessed within rigidly predetermined categories.

Much of the foregoing analysis has been forcefully summarized as follows by Orrin E. Klapp, whose major study titled *Collective Search for Identity* is a basic source for understanding the identity confusion of Metropolitan Man:

> The identity problem [is] an inability to define oneself successfully in a milieu of inadequate symbolism—which means that even people in wealth and luxury . . . come to feel that life is empty, boring, that somehow they have been cheated, yet they can't say why . . .
>
> . . . identity is a delicate psychosocial equilibrium requiring various kinds of support for its maintenance. But in the very society that proclaims abundance for everybody, we see interactional and symbolic deficiencies: the boredom of mechanized sameness, both in jobs and at home; the wiping away of traditions and places; shallow, inconsistent relationships . . . ; an inability of people to get through facades and roles to each other; a piling up of impersonal information which fails to identify because it is not "mine" or "ours"; a weakness of basic social sentiments, such as love, loyalty, and faith; and a lack of ritual by which to intensify either social sentiments or a sense of one's own importance. . . .
>
> This is the problem of banality. A person whose interactions lack psychological payoffs will find life unutterably boring. The success symbols, though he has them, will seem empty. Practical measures, such as economic progress, political reform, even welfare legislation, will seem irrelevant to him, because they do not deal with the real problem—of banality. He will, therefore, have a tendency to become a dropout or a deviant, turning to escapes or kicks for compensation.[13]

In *Collective Search for Identity,* Klapp has provided many illustrations of the "voyages of identity" in which Metropolitan Man struggles to re-establish a non-banal identity. Among the mass movements he describes and analyzes are those centering on drugs and stimulants, crusades, hero worship, rituals and cults, style rebellion, and, above all, "endless fads" and ceaseless experiments in personal style revision undertaken in an attempt to construct "a symbolic environment satisfactory to and worthy of man."[14]

Rather than presenting an extended analysis of each possible variant of the identity search of Metropolitan Man, it is more useful at this point to consider whether the search seems to be succeeding or failing. Even to ask such a question, of course, is simultaneously to answer it. When man's shifting sense of self and his perceptions of environmental unreality lead him to grasp a series of fads, his identity is likely to be even more undercut and his environment is likely to seem even less real. He reacts by searching for still more stimulating sensations. But when men no longer believe in God, Chesterton once observed, they believe not in

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nothing but in anything. Before long, culture takes on the appearance of an accelerating succession of fads, and its governing principle becomes what Christopher Booker has called "neophilia"—"worship of the new."[15]

For most people, this frantic search for the new and different does not produce an authentic and fulfilling sense of self, but only momentarily-satisfying fantasies and illusions. In the nature of things, Simmel long ago observed, the search for identity in momentary pleasures and sensations is ultimately self-defeating:

> There is perhaps no psychic phenomenon which has been so unconditionally reserved to the metropolis as has the blasé attitude. The blasé attitude results first from the rapidly changing and closely contrasting stimulation of the nerves. . . . A life in boundless pursuit of pleasure makes one blasé because it agitates the nerves to their strongest reactivity for such a long time that they finally cease to react at all. . . . An incapacity thus emerges to react to new sensations with the appropriate energy. This constitutes that blasé attitude which, in fact, every metropolitan child shows when compared with children of quieter and less changeable milieus.[16]

From boredom to banality to the blasé attitude: the metropolitan search for identity has come full circle. Despite our economic productivity and our technological comforts, what we have built in the metropolitan area turns out to be little more than a Potemkin Village of the mind. The facade or "style" of the search for a valid identity in the metropolis thus becomes a substitute for a satisfying identity, and expansiveness often turns out to be all playfulness and little substance, with results that psychiatrist Seymour Halleck has described as follows in an article provocatively titled "You Can Go to Hell With Style":

> The stylist's . . . commitment to life in the present does not give him sufficient experience to deal in depth with any problem including his own. He has completely rejected the kind of planning or search for mastery that makes it possible to define and deal with issues . . . the stylist lives one day at a time and while he wishes to experience everything that can be experienced, he experiences nothing in depth. . . . Emptiness and boredom easily progress into depression. . . . At its worst, life in the present leads to an emphasis on style, an approach to problem-solving that pays little heed to the content of a problem; that rewards individuals for going through properly tasteful, stimulating and interesting notions instead of finding solutions. The final outcome of extreme reliance on style is despair.[17]

It is important to recognize that ours is not the first era in history to witness a large-scale breakdown in identity formation. Both Ortega and Booker, as a matter of fact, view history as a pendulum swinging between man's anguishing search for a new identity in a culture no longer

*The*
*Search for Identity*
*Takes Many Forms*

perceived as authentic and his subsequent more orderly achievements to build a new culture transcending the ruins of the old.[18] Booker, for example, has pointed out that cultural struggles between "squares" and "swingers" is far from new: the term "square" was used in the 1770's to describe those who still wore square-toed shoes after they had gone out of fashion, and "swinger" was used in seventeenth-century London to refer to a "swinging handful who recognized no conventional moral restraint."[19] Byron's time, Booker notes,

> was an age of rebellion against every kind of convention, an exhibitionism and a fanatical belief in self-expression, a cult of youth and an extravagant hero-worship . . . [of] an unwearying pursuit of the exotic, the novel, the perverse and the odd . . . of the "riotous" and "shocking" Waltz, of notorious drunkenness, opium eating and gambling fever, of sexual promiscuity, low-cut dresses and male dandyism . . . of acute fashion-consciousness . . . and an age too when . . . a great many people had the sense of being swept into the future on a heady tide of modernity.[20]

Based on this historical perspective, Booker concludes that what the pendulum really represents is the age-old tension and alteration between freedom and order, but that neither condition sought for its own sake can satisfy the needs that set in motion the yearning for them:

> It is commonplace that such periods of [profound social and political change] . . . should fire men's imaginations, arousing them to the intense mental activity. . . . But it is also at such times that for many people, even for whole classes and nations, a hold on reality becomes hardest to achieve. Unbalanced by change, they display, like uncertain adolescents, all the symptoms of insecurity. . . . Confused by change, they either turn their backs on it and take refuge in nostalgia or throw themselves headlong into it. . . . And all these forms of unhappy adjustment are in fact symptoms of the same fundamental condition. They are all different forms of escapism or neurosis . . .
>
> . . . a fantasy pattern based on a whole series of images which are themselves unresolved cannot by definition resolve everything that has gone before. What happens therefore is simply that . . . the fantasy pushes on in an ever-mounting spiral of demand, ever more violent, more dream-like and fragmentary. . . . Further and further pushes the fantasy, always in pursuit of the elusive climax, always further from reality—*until it is actually bringing about the very opposite of its aims,* the dream producing the nightmare, the vision of freedom producing the slavery of the gambler or drug addict.
>
> Once we understand this polarity between life and order, between freedom and security, the whole nature of fantasy opens up in a new way. Whenever a man can be said to have lost touch with reality, it can be seen that he is doing so either by mechanical pursuit of the outward image of

> order, pattern, or discipline, without the balancing life of true feeling or understanding; or by a pursuit of the image of freedom and excitement, unanchored to reality by the perspective of order and understanding . . .[21]

Much of the argument that has been presented in this chapter can be summarized by placing Metropolitan Man as he has emerged during the past generation within the context of those who came before him and those who succeed him in the metropolis. In the first generation, Metropolitan Man settles in the city grieving for the sights and sounds and boyhood memories of the lost rural or small-town community from whence he came. The second generation of man in the metropolis grows up there preoccupied earning chips to cash in the competition for economic security and social status. But by the third or fourth generation, Metropolitan Man no longer is so likely to be concerned solely with forging a career in the great metropolitan sweepstakes; not locked into an all-consuming struggle for material advancement, he is in a position to take advantage of a multitude of opportunities for pursuing personal desires and interests, but by the same token he has difficulty locating himself in space and time and discovering who or what he is and how he fits into the metropolitan scheme of things. Unable or unwilling or disinclined to mold his own life into any very meaningful whole, his sons and daughters in the fourth or fifth generation frequently react to this vacancy by rejecting their parents and the directionless social environments in which they were raised. Primarily concerned with Metropolitan Man in the third or fourth generation, this chapter in effect calls attention to the problem of metropolitan identity at a time when emptiness in one generation is being transformed into bitterness and alienation among those which follow.

What, then, are we to conclude about the possibilities of recreating a stable and satisfying metropolitan identity?

## Keys to the Reclamation of Metropolitan Identity

I can't get no satisfaction,
I can't get no satisfaction,
'Cos I try an' I try
an' I try an' I try
I can't get no,
I can't get no,
I can't get no satisfaction,
no satisfaction, no
satisfaction, no satisfaction.

The Rolling Stones[22]

To avoid a void, forget
get, take care to be care-
less. Lesscare takes
development, requires a
dark room in the nonbrain
that's tense, prehensile
unintentionally indented
with dense pre-eidetic non-
ideas. Total blindness
by its-elf won't do.

from May Swenson
*The Grain of Our Eye*[23]

To begin with, we should clearly recognize that we can never successfully re-establish what came before—no matter how much an older generation may panic and demand that a younger generation simply return to the past. For as Booker wisely reminds us, the "solution" of keeping things as they were—or are—is no solution at all; once our cultural myths

> lose their link with the reality which underlines them, they become themselves illusions . . . the power of a throne or the outward trappings of monarchy become not symbols of communal unity, but merely the focus of individual or group fantasies working against that unity; or when a wedding, instead of being the outward sign of a pledge marking a unity for life, becomes transformed into a mere outward show, a sensation of the moment.[24]

Second, we must keep in mind that in a time of shifting identity individuals are not likely to perceive their culture and their surroundings as real unless they *actively participate* in defining that culture. From this point of view the significance of participation has very little to do with democracy or equality or political virtue, but has everything to do with a fundamental human need for stable self-definition.

Third, we should realize that to a significant degree the act of participation is and must be an act of rebellion; without asserting oneself against something, there is apt to be insufficient self-definition. It is with this recognition, as Booker says, that

> . . . we are obviously touching on a complex of the most profound myths of the human race—the myth of the King who must die in order that a new King may reign . . . the basic rhythm of the eternal renewal, not just of life but also of order, the framework in which alone life can be maintained.
>
> Our fantasies are thus, in a sense, our way of learning. We rebel against the framework of order so that we may learn through our mistakes where the confines of order lie.[25]

Fourth, opportunities for participation and rebellion achieve nothing unless they ultimately invest our psychological and social environments with *meaning*, but emptiness is not transfused with meaning without what Ortega calls "the dedication of one's self to something, as a mission and not simply a discreet use of something which has been given to us. . . ." It was the great achievement of Christianity, he writes, to help man see

> . . . not only that human life ought to be the surrender of itself—that life takes on the sense of a premeditated mission and an interior destiny—but that whether we like it or not, life *is* this surrender. Tell me what else the

> phrase means which is so often repeated in the New Testament, so paradoxical: "He who loses his life shall gain it." That is to say, give your life, hand it over, surrender it; then it is truly yours, you have won it, you have saved it.[26]

Finally, we can never forget that the distinguishing characteristics of the metropolitan environment are *diversity* and *variety*. By definition, the modern metropolis consists of many diverse types of people in an interdependent society that offers almost unlimited scope for expansiveness in how one lives and what one is. But if a person's daily experiences do not reflect this diversity, how can he perceive his environment as an authentic part of the larger metropolitan reality? Sociologist Richard Sennet has considered this issue at length in his study of *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life* and has observed that it is primarily suburbanization in nuclear families which is cutting young people off from the reality of the metropolis, thereby making it difficult or impossible to achieve a durable identity. Based on "a fear of the richness of urban life," he points out, this suburbanization is the social counterpart of the adolescent's impulse to retreat from the confusion and complexity of this stage of the identity search.[27]

It is partly because he grows up shielded from personal encounter with other social and ethnic groups in the metropolis, I might add, that Metropolitan Man tends to be a perpetual adolescent, continuously seeking after temporary pleasures to fill the void of an empty identity. Thus the flight from unreality apparent among large numbers of metropolitan youth can be attributed in part to the process of suburbanization as it has evolved during the past two or three decades. Although the movement to the suburbs represented for adults an escape from overcrowding, traffic congestion, pollution, and crime as well as a determination to create a home-centered environment that would be "nice" and "safe" for raising children, for young people it often has meant growing up in a setting which has not and indeed could not seem a real part of the vital metropolis. In an analysis of contemporary urban youth titled "In the Country of the Young," John W. Aldridge has written that:

> . . . the problem of the young is . . . that so many . . . essential influences are missing from their lives. They are, above all, a generation which seems never to have been alone; hence they have never endured psychological isolation or been compelled to develop the perspective of otherness. . . . To most of them the social world has not been an arena of personal confrontation or conflict but the very embodiment of irrelevance, for they have always known the vast, vacant, structureless world of modern suburbia, which it is impossible to rebel against, which does not encourage the spectatorial attitude or provide one with a sufficient sense of incongruity

> even to see it as effectively *other* . . . affluence, American citizenship, and their favored or unfavored position in history have . . . left them physically and psychologically isolated from the objects of their official compassion and anger, theoretical in their concern for other people's realities.
>
> This quality of abstractedness is revealed in the oddly obscure vocabulary they use to describe the evils which they wish to overthrow. They talk compulsively and ritualistically about *power structures, systems, establishments, bureaucracy,* and *technology,* and the vagueness of these words, their failure, when used singly, to describe conditions in a real world, is symptomatic of their function as empty pejorative metaphors for problems not personally engaged in by those who use them. It almost seems that such a language is intended to invent a reality. . . . Clearly, the young are suffering from a massive dissociation of sensibility, a loss of relationship with living realities.[28]

Developing the implications of this point, Sennet argues that the "terms" of a "possible adulthood" for Metropolitan Man have now become evident:

> . . . a life with other people in which men learn to tolerate painful ambiguity and uncertainty. To counter the desire for slavery that grows strong in adolescence, men must subsequently grow to need the unknown, to feel incomplete without a certain anarchy in their lives, to learn, as Denis de Rougemont says, to love the "otherness" around them. . . . A man becomes engaged in truly social ways, probing the "otherness" around him, in order to reaffirm the fact of his uniqueness, his adult being. The fact that a man can care about something outside himself is a sign that he has a distinctive self of his own.[29]

Although Sennet then concludes that anarchic community settings must be created to force Metropolitan Man into dealing with others in order to obtain a sense of "otherness," one need not accept quite so radical a conclusion to agree that Metropolitan Man will tend to behave like an anguished adolescent until he locates himself in "dense, visibly diverse communities" in which he interacts with others different from himself. For the curse of the modern metropolis, after all, is its relative economic affluence which

> . . . permits men, through coherent routines, to hide from dealing with each other. Rather than face the full range of social experience possible to men, the communities of safe coherence cut off the amount of human material permitted into a man's life, in order that no questions of discord, no issues of survival be raised at all.
>
> It is this "escape from freedom," in Erich Fromm's words, that ultimately makes a man quite consciously bored, aware that he is suffocating, although he may refuse to face the reasons for his suffocation.[30]

Taken together, these observations suggest that the education of Metropolitan Man should emphasize *relevance* and *participation*—but these terms should not be defined in the usual sloganistic and mindless fashion. By "relevance" I mean immersion in the "real" metropolis, that is, personal contact with the rich diversity of people and familiarization with the actual problems of life and society in the metropolitan area. By "participation," I mean the active testing and validating of identity in the metropolitan arena. Both concepts, furthermore, must be implemented in such a way as to encourage a new transcendence in the outlook of Metropolitan Man. In the end, Metropolitan Man can establish and maintain a satisfying identity only by transcending his expansive preoccupation with self and committing himself to concerns larger than those delineated by a narrow patch of metropolitan turf. Granted that this type of transcendence will prove far more difficult to attain than earlier generations could achieve by dedicating their lives to manlike Gods; without it, Metropolitan Man will have done little to make the quality of life better than it was for his technologically-disadvantaged ancestors. For this reason the primary challenge to the educator, as stated by Douglas H. Heath, is to help our students "learn not to be so passively dependent upon something 'out there' for entertainment, to help them learn how to tolerate the pain of frustration and boredom without fleeing into drugs or intellectual stupor."[31]

## Implications

Prior to examining implications of Metropolitan Man's identity problems for organized social institutions such as the school, it is reasonable to ask whether existing institutions should be expected to respond in the first place. After all, it is often argued that the only workable course of action is to encourage individuals in the metropolis—particularly young people—to experiment with and develop new institutions consonant with the emerging goals and values of post-industrial society. Emphasis in this point of view usually is on the rigidity of existing institutions as well as the necessity for personal search and exploration in building a new culture to replace one that has grown or is growing out of touch with reality.

While there is a certain amount of merit in this position, in my opinion there are fatal flaws in its assumption that the identity problem of Metropolitan Man can be alleviated primarily through the non-institutional or anti-institutional uncoordinated and largely unstructured efforts of myriad individuals and small groups. Earlier in this chapter it was argued that the efficacy of a cure for any ailment is highly de-

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pendent on the accuracy of the diagnosis on which the prescription is based. If the identity problems of Metropolitan Man are attributed primarily to an absence of freedom in his formative years or his daily life, the suggested response might be to ignore institutions and provide bigger and better doses of individual freedom. If the problem is diagnosed primarily as an insufficiency of diversions in the metropolis, solutions might encourage the individual to pursue private pleasures and interests still more resolutely. For reasons already indicated, however, Metropolitan Man's difficulties in experiencing a sense of freedom and satisfaction in the metropolis should be viewed not as the fundamental source of his malaise but as symptoms of underlying deficits of commitment and meaning.

Once this has been recognized, it is hard to believe that much can be accomplished through the unorganized searching of individuals and small groups. To a significant extent, commitment and meaning are properties perceived in the larger society; as such it is difficult to see how they can be restored without institutional efforts large enough to have some impact on the total culture in which people grow up and live. In the past, cultural reconstruction generally has come about through institutions which effectively established a new religion or otherwise solidified or established a new world view within an existing culture. It is impossible to predict what new institutions may be invented to help man acquire more sense of the reality outside himself in the modern metropolis, but it is almost certain that without coordinated institutionalized efforts, Metropolitan Man will continue to search fruitlessly for satisfaction in directions that are individually and/or socially harmful. Without institutions to guide the people of the metropolis, some will flee from emptiness by becoming more or less permanently narcoticized, others will seek refuge in stereotypes of racial or ethnic superiority, and still others will experiment desperately with an orgiastic hedonism. Obviously, none of these responses will be either individually satisfying or socially desirable.

Even if it is agreed that institutions, whether new or old, are required to guide the search for an authentic metropolitan identity, some might argue that the responsibility is entirely with institutions other than the school. This point of view is worth considering very seriously, just as is the position of those who argue that the school is not a suitable institution to teach a democratic morality effectively and therefore should not try.[32] But as long as we have compulsory, full-day schooling the school must be viewed as having a major responsibility for identity formation —if only because the school presently is society's only organized institution for reaching most citizens during the critical stages of childhood, adolescence, and youth.

Among the most important contributions institutions can make in the search for a metropolitan identity are (1) to provide every young person with opportunities to test and define himself against difficult challenges in the physical and the social environment; (2) to encourage the development of shared values and sentiments which help the young acquire a sense of authentic reality precisely because they are widely shared; (3) to work toward achieving certain kinds of stability in the physical environment of a rapidly-changing urban society; and (4) to offer the young guidance in exploring and experimenting with a variety of identities. In another paper[33] I have tried to discuss some of the broad efforts that might be undertaken in each of these directions and some of the general ways in which the schools might or should play a part in carrying them out. In the remainder of this chapter, therefore, discussion will be limited to implications specifically focused on curriculum and instruction, with particular reference to the social studies.

1. *As previously implied in the preceding discussion of metropolitan diversity, students' educational experiences should be provided in a setting which brings them into close and continuing contact with others of differing social, racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds.* It is all very well to teach students about other people who reflect or embody the diverse character of the metropolis, but *learning about* is too abstract an activity to counteract perceptions of isolation from metropolitan reality. In this respect, the setting in which we teach is far more important (i.e., teaches more) than the materials and methods of the formal curriculum, and one ounce of effort devoted to bringing about a diverse mixture of students in our classes may contribute much more to the attainment of our educational goals than one hundred ounces of effort to teach a particular body of knowledge.

2. *Much of the curriculum in the social studies should be explicitly concerned with the study of urban and metropolitan affairs.* With the exception of the humanities, no other subject in the traditional curriculum offers even a fraction of the social sciences' potential for immersing students in urban and metropolitan studies. If students are not immersed deeply in a study of the metropolis as part of their work in the social studies, it is unlikely they will be provided with extensive opportunities to do so in any other subject.

3. *Immersion in the reality of the metropolis entails firsthand participation in the metropolitan environment and in metropolitan affairs.* If we take seriously the obligation to help Metropolitan Man acquire an authentic metropolitan identity, a much higher proportion of students' learning experiences will take place outside the school building than is

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presently the case in all but a very few schools. Learning within the four walls of a traditional classroom offers many advantages for the organization and presentation of complex subject matter, but clearly it is a vicarious and artificial activity as compared with direct experience and study in actual metropolitan communities.

4. *Instruction (participation) in urban and metropolitan studies (affairs) should be fundamentally interdisciplinary.* Emphasis should be on problem-solving of the kind that cuts unpredictably across a variety of disciplines and combinations of disciplines within as well as outside the social sciences. Rather than aiming to insert predetermined doses of history or economics or sociology in studying precisely-defined metropolitan problems, we should be pleased when we find our students drawing from an unnameable mixture of disciplines that truly and directly reflects complex metropolitan reality.

5. *For similar reasons, metropolitan secondary schools should move away from standardized scheduling in terms of semesters and academic years in favor of such alternatives as "minicourses" organically scheduled to run for as little as one day or one week to as long as is necessary for students to experience a feeling of closure in metropolitan studies.* Just as dividing the study of metropolitan society into logically-neat "disciplines" is incompatible with metropolitan complexity and interdependence, so, too, organizing instruction into large standardized blocks such as semesters or quarters imposes an artificial structure which tends to obviate a sense of full participation in the metropolitan arena.

6. *Much more can be done—in fact, must be done—to provide adolescents and young people with opportunities to perform socially-important and personally-meaningful work in the metropolis.* While this conclusion somewhat resembles the recommendations of some observers who have advocated universal conscription in public service work for college-age youth and of others who have suggested that high school youth should be enlisted in massive numbers to help combat physical and aesthetic deterioration in our cities, actually it goes a good deal beyond each of these suggestions. If, that is, we believe that persons who do not perceive their daily activities as being consequential for others and for themselves are likely to succumb to the malaise which is spreading in many strata of middle-class youth, we cannot avoid the conclusion that beginning in adolescence, all young people should participate in social actions of unquestioned importance in metropolitan affairs. One logical way to act on this conclusion is to tie metropolitan-service and work-assignments to community-based learning experiences in the social studies.

7. *Students should have more scope in choosing what to learn and in deciding how to learn it.* Just as reality-building and identity validation require a certain amount of social consensus in how people perceive the metropolitan environment, by the same token it is also true that perception and commitment ultimately take place in the individual and not a group. Unless young people have an opportunity to assert and follow their own interests in a manner that is compatible with their sense of self, much of what they study and learn will seem foreign and inauthentic. Like several of the other points raised above, this conclusion implies that education should be firmly based in the metropolitan community, where it is possible to individualize students' studies and assignments much more meaningfully than can be done within the four walls of the traditional classroom.

Reviewing these implications, readers would be justified in doubting that the goals implicit in them can be achieved or even attempted very sensibly within the framework of the "typical" high school. As traditionally organized and administered, the high school simply is not an appropriate mechanism for achieving such goals as providing young people with meaningful opportunities to become immersed in the metropolitan environment or to perform socially-important work in the metropolis.

Fortunately, several new secondary education models do make it possible for the school to become a much more salient force in helping the young build a stable and satisfying metropolitan identity. One of the most promising models now available for achieving this as well as other fundamental goals of education is that being worked out at John Adams High School in Portland, Oregon.

Students at Adams spend half the school day in general education courses taught by teams of teachers and other adults representing each of the major subject-matter areas such as social studies and science. The topics which teams of students and teachers choose to explore also cut across the separate disciplines, as when subjects such as controlling auto pollution in the metropolis or eliminating slums in the city are studied with no fixed time requirement for introducing one topic or turning to another. During the remaining half-day, students engage in independent study or take elective courses which last anywhere from six weeks to a full year. Both major parts of the program at Adams allow plenty of scope for metropolitan involvement, community service, and other objectives advocated in this chapter, and organization of the student body into relatively small half-day learning teams makes it possible for each student to work closely with others of differing backgrounds and ages. While other emerging models such as Metropolitan High (School Without Walls) in Chicago and Harlem Prep also offer great promise for providing a metropolitan education, Adams is one of the few urban schools demonstrating what might be done right now in a large high school with a diverse population of 1500 or more students.

In essence, what I have been arguing for in this final section is that many of our approaches to curriculum and instruction be modified to take account of the problems young people will experience growing up in the metropolitan area of the 1970's. If we fail to do so, our teaching materials and methods generally will be chosen in conformity with the mental pictures of the world and the school which we acquired in our own childhood in the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's. As we are always being reminded, however, the metropolis is changing very rapidly these days, and it is even less appropriate to educate today in terms of a world view derived from 1935 than it was to teach children in 1935 in accordance with a mental model of the world acquired in 1900. Not only does it make little sense to require the young to internalize our own images of a world long since disappeared in order to function in the school—but such a demand is foredoomed to failure. Better to revive the old bromide that effective teaching depends on starting with the learner "where he's at," and to recognize that the complex metropolis with its overriding imperative to establish a stable and committed post-industrial identity is where our students are.

## Postscript

To avoid possible misunderstandings, I want to make it clear that the arguments presented in this chapter do not presume that the school can or should be held solely responsible for helping young people achieve a viable identity in the metropolis; to expect the public schools to accept this responsibility in view of the relatively small part it plays in identity formation would be untenable and absurd.

At the same time, however, educators ignore the problems of metropolitan identity only at their own peril; anytime a student enters a school or classroom, the issues discussed in this chapter inevitably enter right along with him. Neither in theory nor practice can we expect much learning to take place unless we recognize that our students are products of the metropolis and that who and what they are has implications for how we educate.

One other point which should be made very explicit is that Orr and Nichelson's work describing the "expansive personality" of emerging Metropolitan Man is only one of several excellent analyses that might have been used in discussing the characteristics and plight of man—particularly middle-class man—in the modern metropolis. Other related portrayals which are somewhat similar but also are more complicated and therefore were not introduced in this brief chapter can be found in the writings of such writers as Philip Rieff[34] ("Psychological Man") and Vytautas Kavolis ("Post-Modern Man").[35] To explore the implications for curriculum and instruction of the identity problems of modern man more comprehensively than was possible in this introductory chapter, readers are advised to consult the works of these and other authors who have become known for their concern with understanding the psychological development of man in post-industrial society.

## FOOTNOTES

[1] From: *A Sleep of Prisoners* by Christopher Fry. Copyright © 1951 by Christopher Fry. Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press, Inc.

[2] From *The Radical Suburb* by John B. Orr and F. Patrick Nichelson, copyright © MCMLXX, The Westminster Press. Used by permission.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 137.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

[8] Walter de la Mare, "Dreams," *The Complete Poems of Walter de la Mare* (London, Society of Authors, 1970), p. 353. Permission granted by the Literary Trustees of Walter de la Mare and the Society of Authors as their representatives.

[9] Jose Ortega y Gasset, *Man and Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1958), pp. 97-100.

[10] W. H. Auden, *The Age of Anxiety* (New York: Random House, 1947), pp. 23-24.

[11] Orrin E. Klapp, *Collective Search for Identity* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969), p. 112.

[12] George Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, ed. Richard Sennet, copyright © 1969 by Meredith Corporation. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), pp. 48-51. By permission of Appleton-Century-Crofts, Educational Division, Meredith Corporation.

[13] Klapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 318-19.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 331.

[15] Christopher Booker, *The Neophiliacs* (Boston, Mass.: Gambit, 1969).

[16] Simmel, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[17] Seymour Halleck, "You Can Go to Hell With Style," *Psychology Today*, III, No. 6 (November, 1969), pp. 16, 70. cf. Ortega:

> I am eager that you understand what I mean by talking of *desperation* . . . It is evident that man can come to such a pass that . . . he finds no occupation which satisfies him; nor do the matters on his material and social horizon or the ideas on his intellectual horizon move him to anything which seems satisfactory. He will go on doing this or that; but he will do it like an automaton, without achieving any sense of solidarity between himself and his acts. . . .

> When this happens there surges up in him an unconquerable loathing of the world and of living, both of which seem to him to have a character which is purely negative. Ortega y Gasset, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

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[18] Booker states that "The process of change is never smooth and regular, but seems only to consist of periods of stagnation when the established order becomes conservative and out of touch with reality, interspersed with periods of chaos when the pent-up forces of change explode out of control." (Booker, *op. cit.*, p. 353.) Ortega, as noted earlier in this chapter, attributes this pattern to the sequence of generational change.

[19] Booker, *ibid.*, p. 48.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 51. To substantiate his thesis, Booker offers such quotes as the following from Wordsworth and Hazlitt, respectively:

> The most effective of these causes are the great national events which are daily taking place, and the increasing accumulation of men in cities, where the uniformity of their occupations produces a craving for extraordinary incident, which the rapid communication of intelligence hourly gratifies. . . . The invaluable works of our elder writers . . . are driven into neglect by frantic novels, sickly and stupid tragedies, and deluges of idle and extravagant stories.
>
> There was a mighty ferment in the heads of statesmen and poets, kings and people. According to the prevailing notions, all was to be natural and new. Nothing that was established was to be tolerated . . . authority . . . elegance or arrangement were hooted out of countenance . . . everyone did that which was good in his own eyes . . . something new and original, no matter whether it was good or bad, whether mean or lofty, whether extravagant or childish, was all that was aimed at . . . the licentiousness grew extreme. . . .

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 69, 70, 62.

[22] Copyright © 1965 Abkco Music, Inc. Written by Mick Jagger and Keith Richard. Used by permission. All rights reserved. International Copyright secured. Quoted from Christopher Booker, *The Neophiliacs* (Boston, Mass.: Gambit, Inc., 1969), p. 289.

[23] May Swenson, "The Grain of Our Eye (A Scientific Abstract)," *Iconographs* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. 37.

[24] Booker, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 370.

[26] Ortega y Gasset, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[27] Richard Sennet, *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1970), p. 72.

[28] From: *In the Country of the Young* by John W. Aldridge (Harper & Row, 1969), pp. 110-116.

[29] Sennet, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 133.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 186.

[31] Douglas H. Heath, "Student Alienation and School," *School Review*, LXXVIII, No. 4 (August, 1970), p. 519.

[32] For example, Everett Reimer and Ivan Illich, *Alternatives in Education* (Cuernavaca: CIDOC, 1970).

[33] Daniel U. Levine, "The City as School," *NASSP Bulletin*, No. 349 (December, 1969), pp. 1-34.

[34] Philip Rieff, *The Triumph of the Therapeutic Uses of Faith After Freud* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).

[35] Vytautas Kavolis, "Post-Modern Man: Psychocultural Responses to Social Trends," *Social Problems*, XVII, No. 4 (Spring, 1970), pp. 435-448.

# 2. Photographic Essay: What the City Means to Me

The Independent Learning Center, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is designed for the high-school-age student who, for any reason, has left the public school system. The Center stresses self-motivation in its students, and the development of an integral school community.

In addition to basic and remedial education, ILC offers courses that emphasize creative expression and community involvement. Some of this year's mini-courses include: social psychology; self-awareness; sex, drugs, and crime; photography; applied math and science; English; role of women; role of men; music; shelter structure and design; U.S. history; chemistry; electronics; typing; newspaper; media center; and others.

ILC is based at 1437 W. Lincoln Avenue in the heart of Milwaukee's south side, which is basically a huge Eastern European ethnic neighborhood that has come to include a large Spanish-speaking community and many poor white families.

The Center opened for classes in September of 1970. The enrollment has risen from 30 to the present level of 46. There are seven people on the staff, which include VISTA Volunteers and University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee students. ILC is accredited and receives the bulk of its funding from the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice, administering agency for Safe Streets Act.

The Center's photography program, run in conjunction with the Journey House Youth Center, has stressed two aspects of the medium. First, photography as an expressive tool, a graphic language the student can use to communicate feelings and ideas important to him. Secondly, the program stresses that a photographer participates in his environment more objectively than an ordinary person. Photography can help a student develop a context for his home situation.

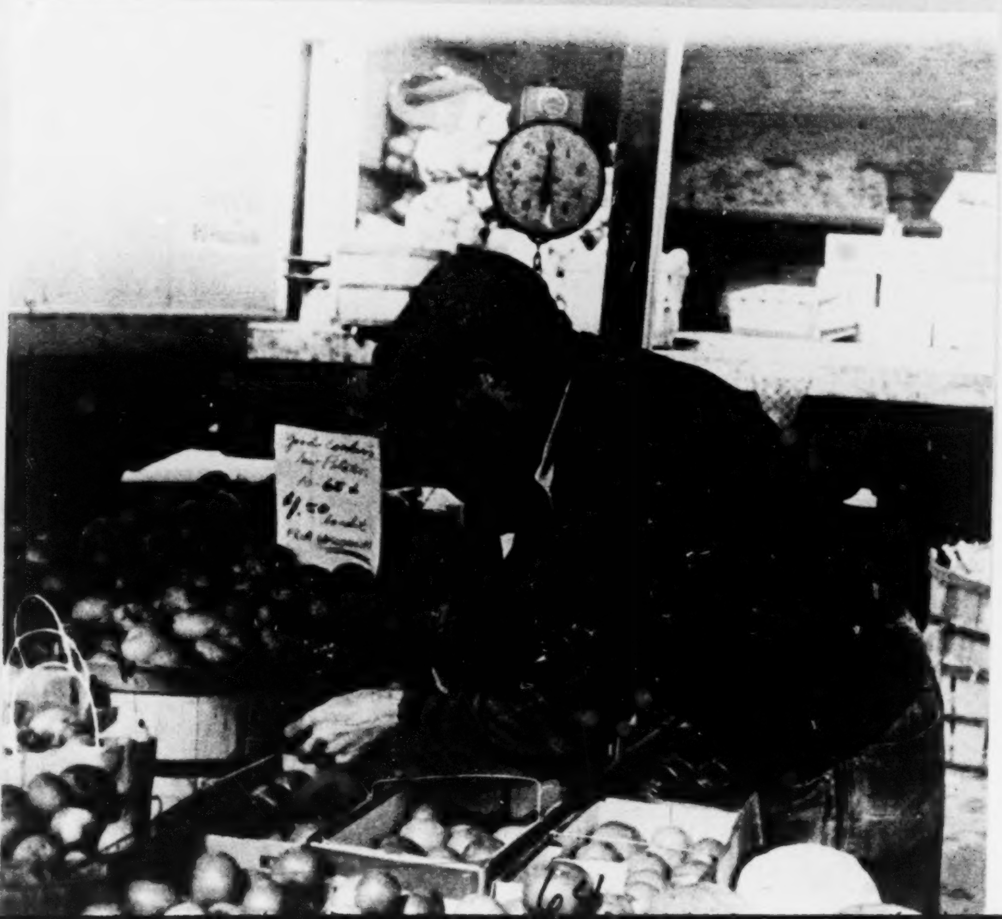
***The following photographic essay, "What the City Means to Me," offers a segment of life in Milwaukee. The photographers are Randy LaFave, 16, Rick LaFave, 18, Robert Brown, 16, and Keith Lex, 17. All four young men are residents of Milwaukee's south side. Their instructor is John Gurda.***

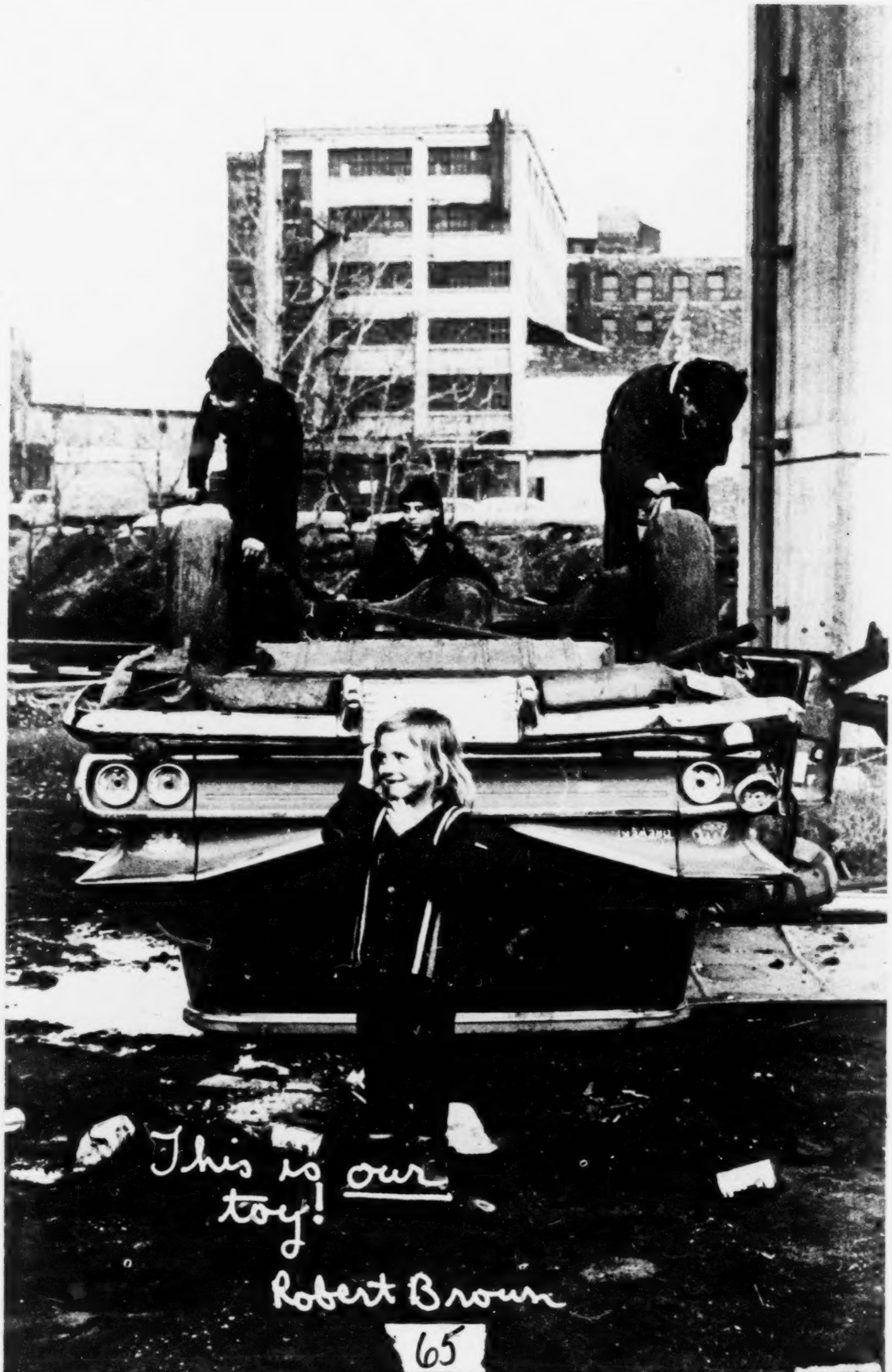
There's nothing that
serve's the community
more than my
little store

Robert Brown

The first green market on the Southside.

Keith R. Leaf





This is our toy!

Robert Brown

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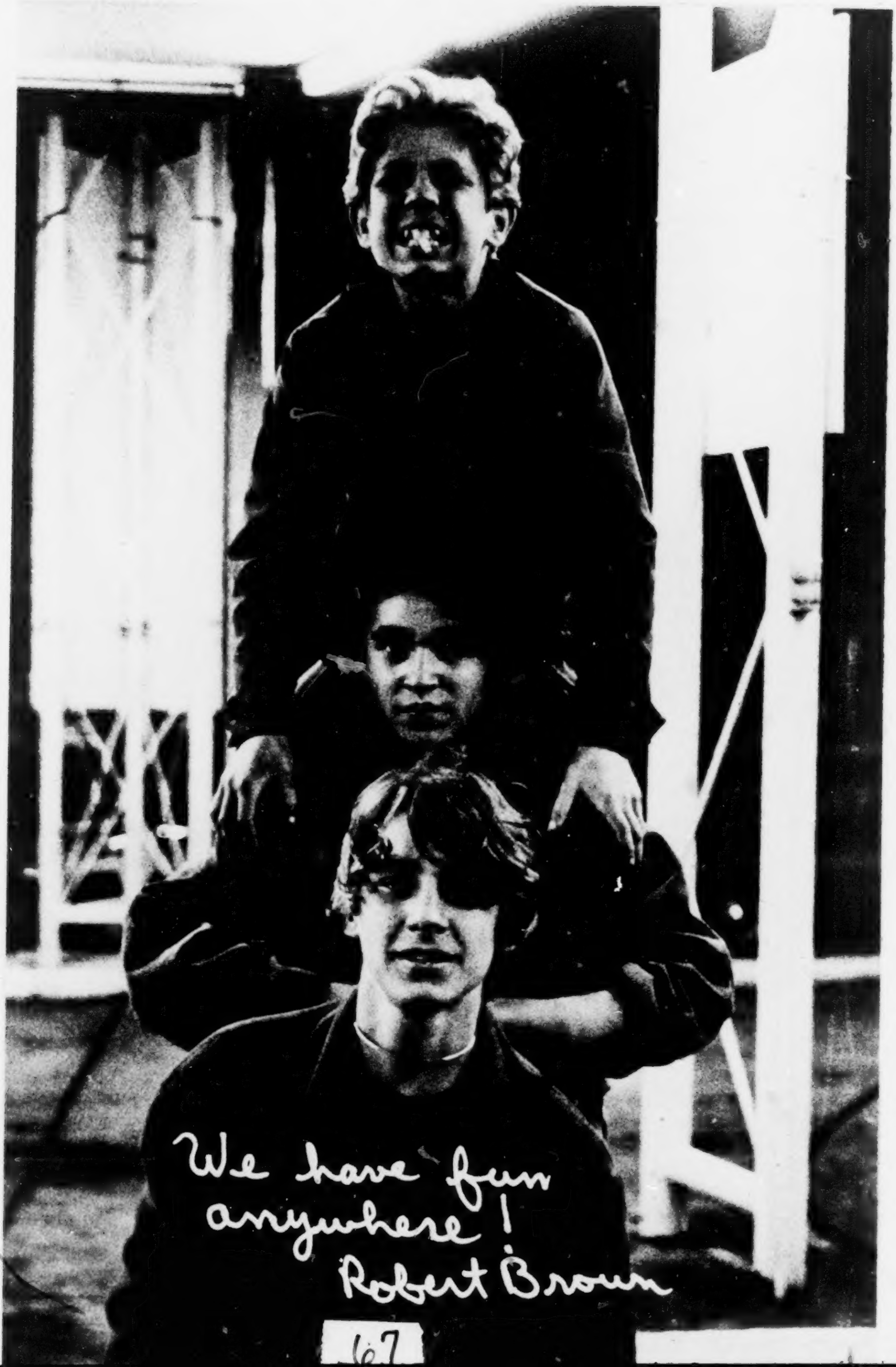
Not all teachers wear suits and dresses.

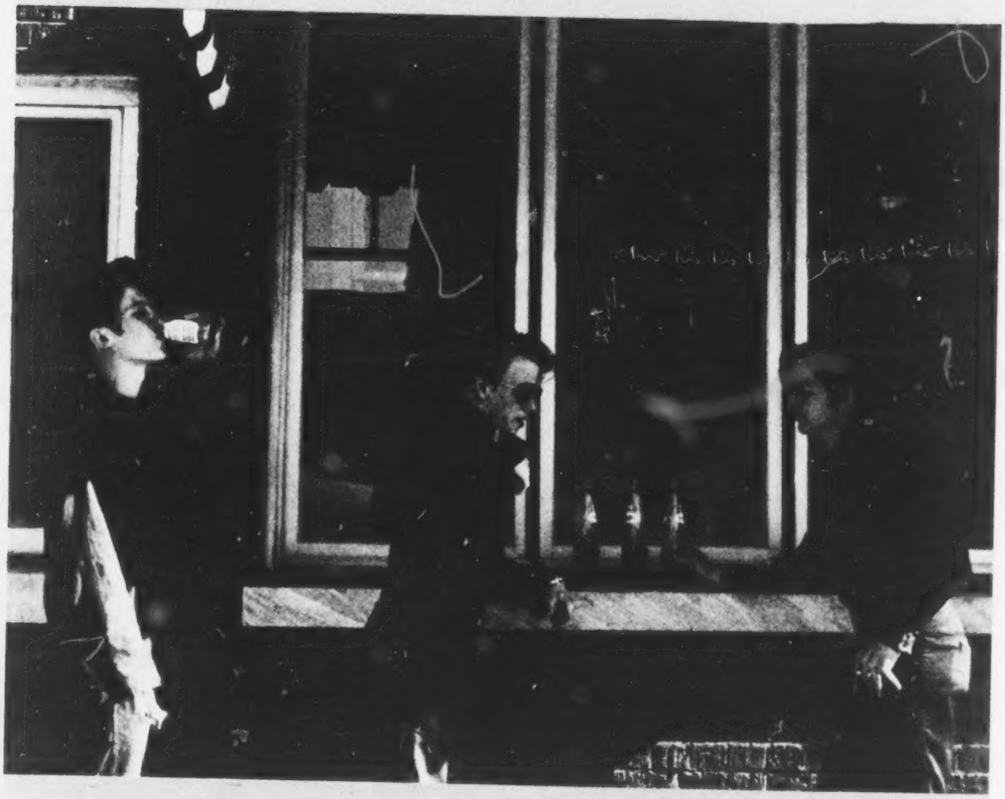
Keith A. Leaf

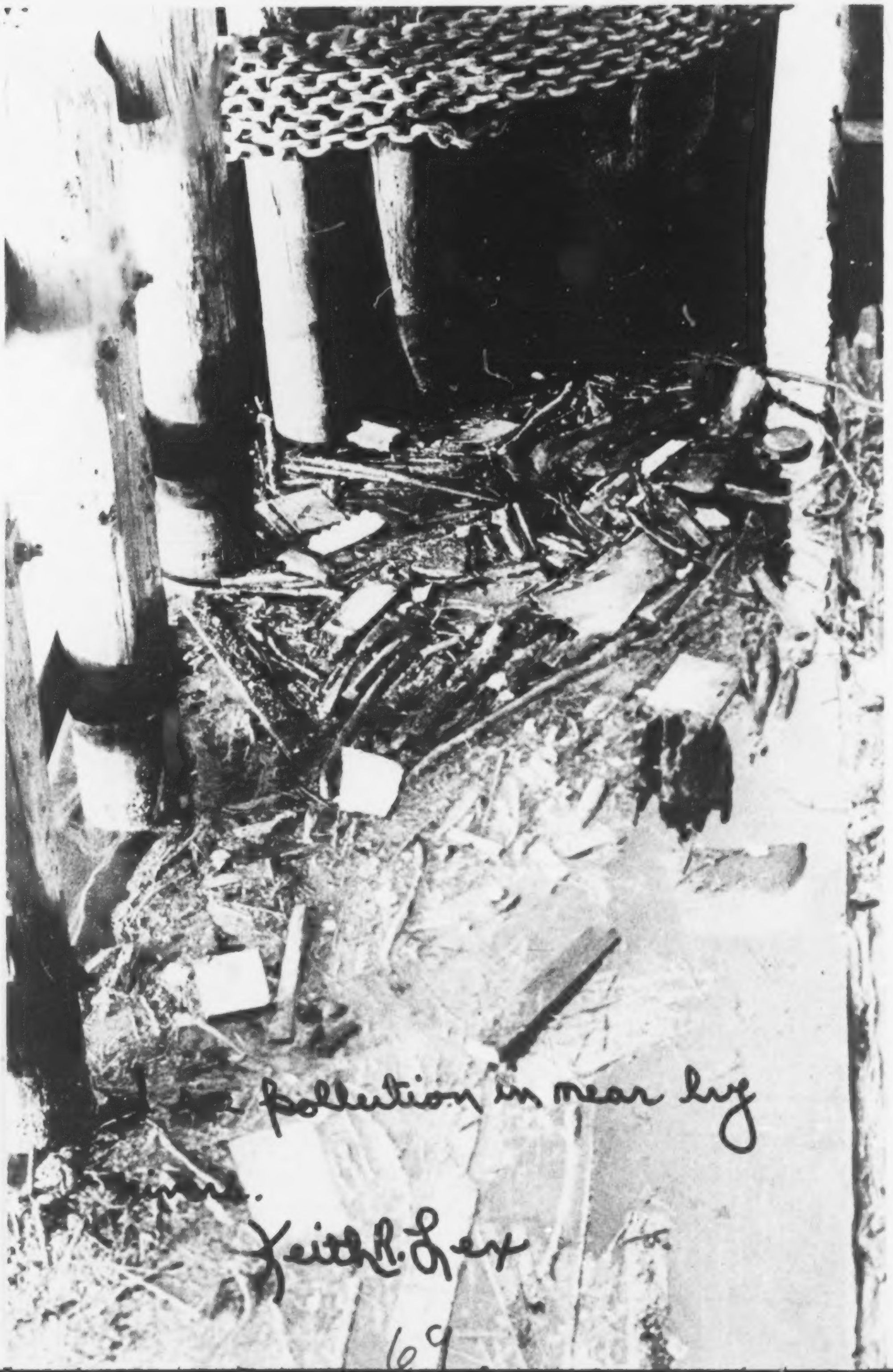


We have fun anywhere!
Robert Brown

Hangin' around.

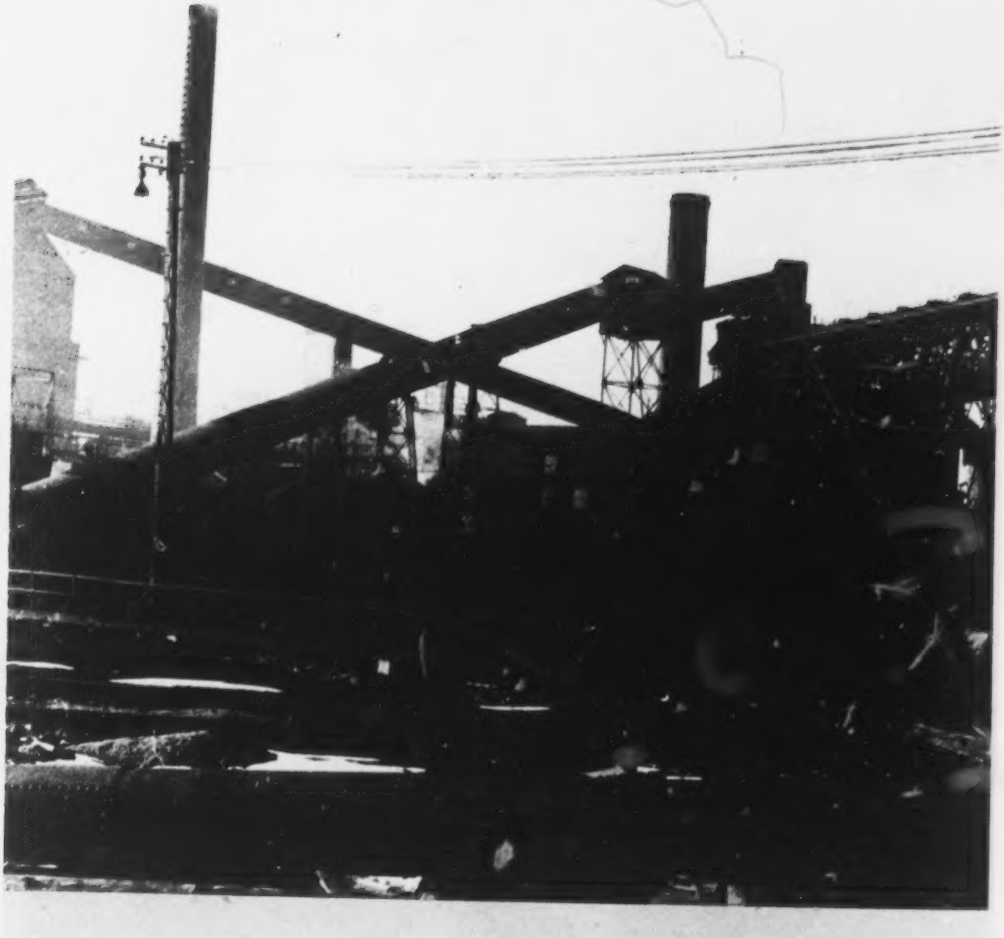
Randy LaFave





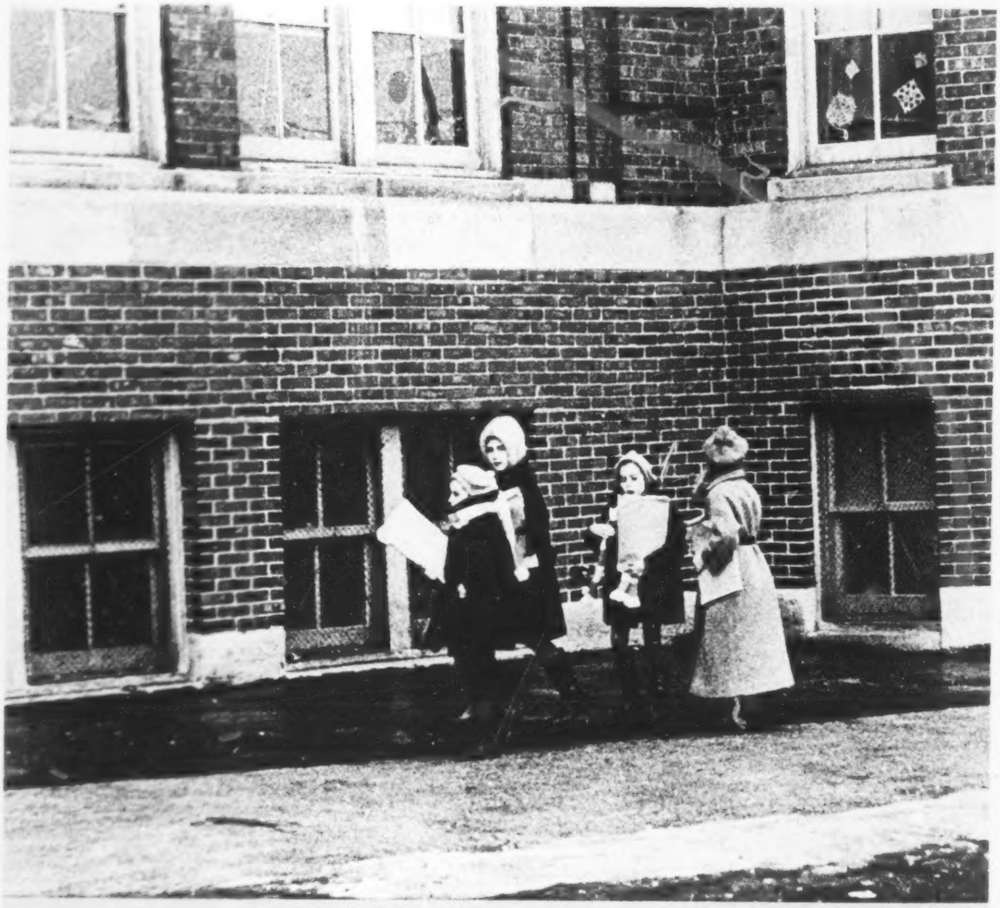
[illegible] pollution in near by rivers.

Keith R. Lex



The dirtiest place in my community

Keith Lent



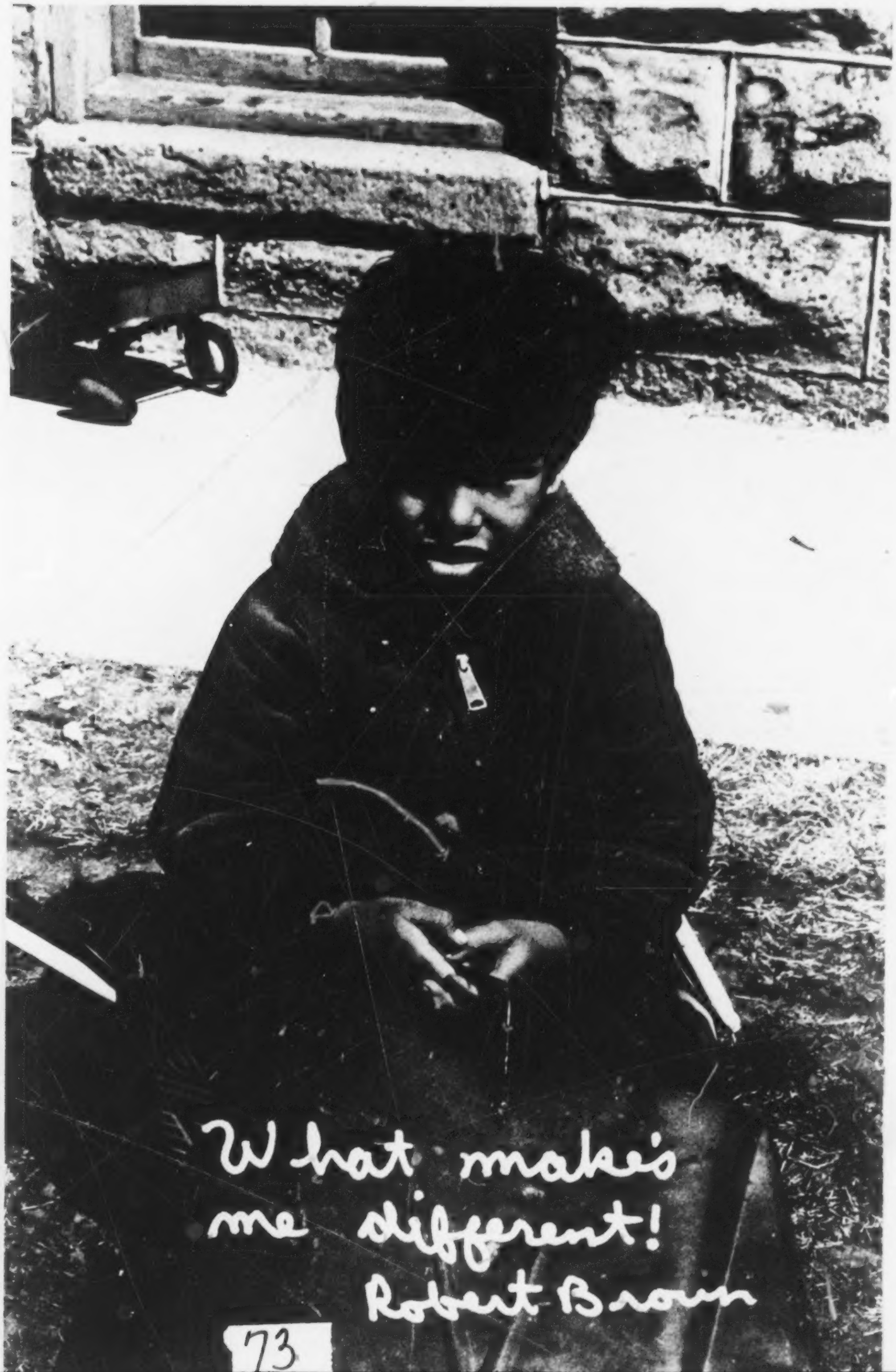
up in the morning
and off to school

Rick La Fave

# After school...

Robert Brown

STOP
AND
FOR ICY
STREETS



What make's
me different!
Robert Brown

# 3. Reflections on Urban Life

## Jesus Salas

*Much of Jesus Salas' background will emerge from this chapter describing his work in the Spanish-speaking community of Milwaukee. Born in Crystal City, Texas, he attended schools in the Southwest prior to moving to Wisconsin. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee with a bachelor's degree in 1970, previously having attended Wisconsin State Universities at Oshkosh and Stevens Point. Jesus Salas has been deeply involved in organizational work with the AFL-CIO and other organizations, working on the grape boycott beginning in 1966. He has held a number of positions in a variety of agencies serving the Spanish-speaking community, most recently with the United Migrant Opportunity Services. In the summer of 1970, Jesus Salas was among a group of Spanish-speaking students and community representatives who initiated a series of meetings, confrontations, and negotiations that resulted in the establishment of the Spanish-Speaking Outreach Institute at The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee. The following chapter is based on a taped conversation with him during the summer of 1971.*

■

**What is the main thing you think about as you view the Spanish community?**

The Spanish community is continuously affected by outside influences. As you know, we have traditionally been excluded from all major institutions—social, political, economic, and educational. Yet every day of our lives we are affected by the same institutions that have isolated us. It is extraordinary, since we feel their impact on our lives as Spanish-speaking persons on a day-to-day basis. Yet we have no part of them. This phenomenon brings many questions to our minds. As complicated as some of the institutions are to understand, we must start relating to them as a people. And I ask myself and some of the other community organizers: "Now that we know this, what are we going to do?"

For instance, let's discuss a question that has been asked by millions of Americans all over the country: What was the basis for our involvement in Vietnam? Recently, through the release of the "Pentagon

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Papers," we have found some answers. Many people had an idea of the highhanded and arbitrary decisions that were made by the last three presidents. But what shocked the hell out of millions of Americans was how this democratic nation arrives at its decisions. It had international implications and many high government officials became apologists overnight. I feel the shock will be overcome and we will get back to business as usual. But I want to point out that in our small community these are the truths we live with; perhaps not as grandiose, but with just as far-reaching effects. . . .

I think this is happening throughout America. Every aspect of my life is being affected, whether I work with the Chicanos in our community, or go to this university, or complain about the brutality of the police against other human beings. It's just so overwhelming. Not only for the Latins here in Milwaukee, but for everyone! I see a lot of young people in our community going through a life that is unbearable—even to some of them who are better equipped to handle it. I see this happening everywhere.

It used to be that a man—Black, Chicano, young, a worker, or whatever—would say: "Is this relevant to me?" The universal answer to social problems, you know: more learning! We don't hear that as much anymore. It is as if the relevancy question is almost mundane now. There are almost no questions now. It is almost as if the few answers we have received are so overwhelming that we are not as daring as we could be.

**You mentioned working with the police about civil rights problems . . .**

Most of the policemen we know and see on the south side are working-class people. I don't think people ever sit down and really see what we have created in them. By the way, it's hard for me to call them "pigs." That word just doesn't come out. I might, in anger, say other words that might be more vulgar, but I can hardly call them "pigs." I think the reason I can't is because I now recognize that most of the people in the neighborhood where the policemen come from are probably where we are right now. Or where the Black community is—which has always been the inner city with all of its particular problems. I try unsuccessfully to understand policemen as men. This is difficult to do because I also understand them as part of the institutions they represent. They are the ones that are required to maintain all of this law and order that we have created for ourselves. Now we don't know what the hell to do once we recognize what the calls for law and order are doing to people. Policemen are the agents of this society—poorly paid and ill-equipped to handle the immense problems of our society.

They go into our poor, overcrowded, and unemployed communities and challenge the lives of those who refuse to perpetuate their idea of order. The problems that arise out of this confrontation is what we call our "crime." In the performance of their jobs, policemen leave their roots, and represent the kind of morality and concept of order that this society has created.

In the Spanish-speaking community, policemen are out-and-out foreigners. They are not from our families, they do not speak our language, and they are not from our national origin. And the few that are from our roots, we know what has happened to them. There is no so-called middle ground. They make our lives difficult, and the only reason for reducing the number of confrontations is our passion to survive.

I met the chief of police during a march to support one of our leaders, a march ending in a confrontation where nine policemen were injured and sixteen of us ended up behind bars. The chief surprised me. He seemed like a decent man and I enjoyed speaking with him as a man. I had hoped to feel more assured—that I was dealing with the man who was going to make our life easier and who could *end* some of the violence. I'm afraid I did not feel very assured when I left the mayor's office where we were meeting that night.

In the streets, this feeling is shared by most of us. The tension is so high that I can almost recall the eyes of the different policemen who walk the beat or patrol the area. We are all very familiar with their sneers, their challenges, and some of their comments. Most of the time nothing outwardly happens, but I can recall incidents where I honestly thought all hell was going to break loose and a policeman or me, one of us, was going to end up dead.

We've been in demonstrations where we know what their lack of understanding can create and we try to get everyone, *everyone,* not to provoke them. But I have seen times and have been part of action where there was no provocation and they knew "how to deal with us." Yet I know that we cannot do to them what they do to us. For we want to live and survive. We want peace.

**Can you give an illustration?**

Oh yes. I have been arrested five or six times in the last 15-16 months. One time we were demonstrating and the police wanted to keep us on the sidewalk. We were crossing the viaduct which connects the bridge to our south side. There were several hundred of us. Every time the police got us to the sidewalk we spilled out into the street on the other end. That's the way the march was going, squishing in and out, and the police were driving their bikes and pushing us over. One of the gentlemen in the march had his hands in his pockets. When a policeman came by, he immediately grabbed him and said that he was under arrest. This particular gentleman didn't speak English and the policeman didn't know how to speak Spanish. I went over and I grabbed the Chicano and pulled him up on the sidewalk. Speaking in Spanish to my friend and speaking in English to the police at the same time, I tried to say: "He's alright, he's going to get back onto the sidewalk, he doesn't understand English." And I was telling the Chicano: "Don't speak back, don't start yelling back, he doesn't understand what you're saying. . . ." All of a sudden, a second policeman who didn't understand what we were doing came along and saw me struggling. He came up and hit me in the head, threw me on the ground, put my arms behind my back, and threw me headfirst into the paddy wagon—and the friend that I was with then went in too. We were arraigned the following day and found not guilty. . . .

**It seems that some police look at Chicano people and Black people and believe that they can't deal with them as they would with people in a middle-class suburb.**

But this is what we have created. You see, we're responsible for this. I think that all of the social, political, and economic pressures we feel are also felt by these policemen. Those social problems that have never been honestly confronted, the operations of governmental bureaucracy, the way we elect politicians—with them spending fantastic amounts of money without really showing us the kind of men they are and what their skills are. When they get in government, they're not challenged. And they're not going to let people challenge them, especially people like us.

This tremendous problem affects the police and they are caught in the same bind. Look at the problem faced by policemen in their negotiations for higher wages; look at how the city has been addressing itself to these policemen. Can you imagine how policemen go to work every day —sometimes working without a contract that will get them a good pension or group health? And then they have to go out and face *us,* or the kids yelling at them! I've tried to sit down with some of my friends on the south side and tell them the police are not the problem. Not just me, but everybody who has learned this fact; we all tell our people this is not where it's at. We don't want to fight with the police. We can't win. Our problems are the issues. I don't think that many of us who have assumed leadership roles give ourselves the opportunity to define the question you have asked me. We are failing to understand and to search out the kind of life that people of so many distinct origins can have as human beings—each with his own roots and rights and with all of us living together in one country.

**The sad fact is that what you're seeking is what the policeman also wants for his kids.**

What I'm saying is that because we are always feeling the pressures that we have been talking about, we're all caught in the tremendous impact of institutions. Everyone is asserting his own rights, consequently we are isolating ourselves as different groups. We are reinforcing and polarizing different groups at economic, racial, national, and religious levels. And everything we have ever said about this being one country, one flag, one direction, is just going out the window. We fail to address ourselves to what the concept of this country is, and right now we can't cope with our failures. There is no national guidance, there is no direction. The idealism that there *can* be anything different, especially in the past six years . . . , is questionable. Consequently everyone has just fallen back—retreating from the issues. And there are a number of sophisticated ways that everyone is compromising to do exactly that. The development of community schools, the movement to open curriculums in education, adult basic education programs and other community-oriented programs that are going on in our communities—they are all attempts to survive, to recognize the different neighborhoods that are in our communities and throughout these United States. But these movements are compromises. These efforts are all smaller, lesser goals because we have failed in our major one—the development of *one* nation.

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CLERK CAREER
ADULT EDUCATION CENTER
CENTRO DE EDUCACION PARA ADULTOS
BASIC EDUCATION

**What about conditions at our universities?**

When you look at the population of this city, when you look at the university staff, when you look at the student enrollment, then you find the true relationship of the *urban* community—especially of the minority communities—to a university. It will take at least another decade for this institution, this urban university, to be relevant to its people. A disservice is really being done to the people who are coming in, because we're really not serving *all* people. We're not really serving people who live in the inner city where a tremendous impact by people is going to be made in the next decade. We're not serving them because they're not at the university. You're talking only to those people who really don't question things—who are just going through seeking jobs and careers. Are these white students really going to go to this university for four years and then expect a role in the life of people they don't know —in the lives of people in the minority communities?

Universities can bring in black consultants or brown ones; or I can write an article; or I, as one of the few Latin Americans here, can address your students. But look at what is going on! Man, your students are not going to make it. They might make it someplace else, but they're certainly not going to make it in the parts of the city I live. The way the politics of the inner city are going, with community control ideas spreading throughout the community, there's not going to be a chance for your students in this city. What are these people you're graduating going to do? What have they been trained for? And if they do go down to the south side, well, you should talk to some of the social work students and also to some of the other students that are in our community. If they really get into our lives and into the day-to-day situation we have to face, it's almost unbearable! If your students are isolated and just drive to and from their jobs, it's a wonderful time for them because they're "really doing something." But I think it's a tremendous disservice to those individuals, especially given the fact that our inner-city people are going untrained day after day.

**What has been happening in the Spanish-speaking community in respect to education and social services?**

It has been very difficult providing changes in these services for Spanish-Americans. I keep using the term Spanish-American because I live in an urban area where there are other Latin Americans, mostly Puerto Rican brothers and other brothers from Latin America. Most of the Latin Americans here came at a very late stage in the war against poverty. We just caught the tail end of it, so the impact in the Latin

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community has not been as great as that on the Black community in the inner cities of America. Secondly, most of the inner-city problems have been defined as Black problems and not as Spanish-American problems. So it has been a new experience for us to receive money to help ourselves. While it's been a very short time, we're almost happy that we never really became a part of that so-called extended services out to the south side. The anti-poverty models that have developed in the last five or six years of war on poverty have failed drastically. They not only failed to overcome poverty or to help the poor to help themselves, but the failure was compounded because they completely disoriented the whole community from considering ways by which a community really becomes self-sufficient.

Let's see, I think the first Chicano-directed poverty organization came in 1968—the middle of 1968. Federally-funded organizations were almost unheard of in this community. Help never came. Lately, an honest attempt has been made to "bring" solutions to our problems. The Spanish Center that came out of an archdiocese program, for example. Many of our Spanish-speaking programs came out of Catholic-oriented or church-oriented programs—private sources at best, who had other vested interests: guilt and the salvation of our souls. You see, the church with its staying power and influence in our community was our patron. And to some of our national leaders, it is still assisting us. Here in Milwaukee, the church spoke first.

The Spanish Center on 5th and National was the first program organized and supported by a major institution which made a mark on our lives. As a matter of fact, the Center is the only major institution on the south side that is church-oriented among nearly two dozen other agencies and organizations. The church-sponsored Center brought us an excellent adult basic education program, a credit union, a driver's license training program, contact with large industrialists for jobs, and other services. But, now as then, the church must realize that the self-determination and self-survival of our community must come from the community itself—*from ourselves!* Therefore, for whatever anyone brings us or whatever form of assistance they provide, we are eternally grateful. But only we can help ourselves.

For example, I don't even think we can depend on this institution—the university. And it makes our job more difficult, because we are tempted to become entrenched in the flowing river of "gravy" this country promises you when you drink its water. I don't think we can be dependent on the poverty program, either. Not on a long-range basis. *Our community must determine its own life.* We haven't been spoiled by poverty money, but I don't want to kid myself as to what this money can and cannot do. We must develop a process that will create new vehicles to take care of our problems.

**Someone reading your statement might say that it sounds similar to the "Black Separatist Movement." Is that the direction you see the Spanish community going?**

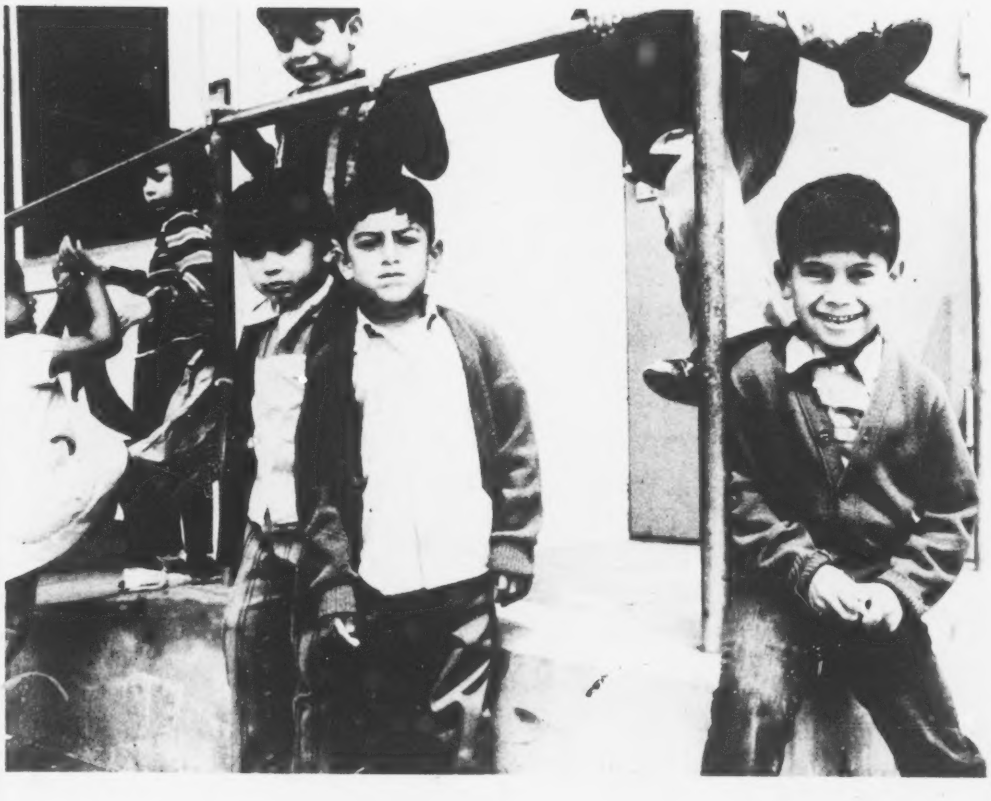
I don't know. I really don't think so, because we already come from a community that is pretty together—our culture and the family have been responsible for that. We have always been isolated and, for many of our people, we are separated even further from the mainstream by our language. We can't even communicate; we can't yell at the man or get angry with the man. We took it because we didn't know how to protest in *his* language. The ones who did speak out, back then, and in many cases now, ended up in jail, or got fired, or got transported back to Mexico.

What I'm saying is that we have always been this "kind" of community because of where we came from. Even as migrant workers, we traveled in crews who come from the same neighborhoods and the same cities, mostly families who know each other or whose parents knew each other. In our community, this past experience means that a bond has been created which we as sons do not normally disrupt. We are very much a part of each other. Therefore, I don't think that we could say that it's any new direction at all. It's reinforcing one of the existing patterns. . . .

**Think for a moment about your youth. Are there things about your school days that stand out? Did you have teachers who increased your awareness of what is happening in our society, and of the identity of Spanish-Americans in that society?**

You see, we have to live in our own community always; since we were always isolated, we always came back home. There was no other place. Most of us come from farm areas, at least that is true as I grew up—up until I was 15. Anything that we learned about the world outside really didn't help us to live in our own community. You can talk about and label this kind of experience, but it's just a simple day-to-day kind of experience.

I remember coming home once—and this is kind of funny—my cousin and I we ran into my grandmother. I think it was in 1957; we were in junior high school then. I remember us saying: "Grandma, grandma, the Russians have just sent a Sputnik up . . . !" Remember how it created a kind of hysteria? "Grandma, school got out today, and we all heard on the radio that they sent something around the sky." And grandma said: *"God wouldn't permit it. . . ."*



Now that's an extreme, but what I'm saying is that a lot of the Anglo method of teaching never really stuck. We never really digested it; our high school was completely different, too isolated from everything we know. We didn't believe much of what we learned in it. And our old men, who understood the politics of the community, and the different leaders of the community, the different tribes, the different types of lives that we came from—none of these leaders were educated. Yet we respected them so much. They gave us our direction.

*I can find very few incidents in my life where I was guided by people outside my own community.* There were a lot of people that brought ideas into my head and really challenged my thinking. And there were tremendous conflicts in living in both worlds. But insofar as providing the direction for where I'm at now, there was really very little of that kind of influence.

**When in your career did you become politically active?**

I can't really tell when. It seems to me that we were always involved. In our family, we always discussed the things that affected our lives. To be politically inclined or to be politically motivated, to be active in this or that question, was just to talk about issues and to come to some conclusion.

As a kid, things like not being let into theaters—or white people not talking to you—or never having gone to school with white children in Crystal City, Texas until I was in high school come to mind. We went to segregated schools—I never went to school with Black children. Being thrown out of farms for asking for better wages and working conditions, shining shoes in the barrio—I remember all of these things. In that sense, our lives were always political.

Most of our reactions, where I come from, lacked the outward aggressiveness that this country saw in the Black communities in the Sixties. It's hard to assess the reason for this and I'm cautious in giving you something that I'm not sure of myself. I think that it has to do with our origins and our culture. But I also think it protected us, I think we shielded ourselves. A lot of young men get indignant about the fact that some of our fathers were not politically active or that they were Uncle Toms or sellouts. I hate to think of our elders like that. Those times were difficult, as my father and other people tell me. There were many people who couldn't take it, and struck back. Those individuals, whether they were *Pachucos,* wetbacks, farm workers, or our soldiers who died for this country, are the folk heroes for whom our people made songs—*Corridos*. So we can now hear of their dignity—all have a special place in our hearts and in our history. All of these recognitions at a very early age, I guess, determined my actions and my decisions to continue my work. We survived with a spirit and I think we are in harmony with the work and goals we have set for ourselves.

**I don't want to sound too naive, but are things "better" for people when they move to a city like Milwaukee? Are there more opportunities? What about prejudices?**

I don't even know if I can answer that because I am now living in an urban area and there is obviously so little attention given to improving human conditions. In the South, in a small agricultural town, we were not exiles . . . exiles to man or nature. Frank Lloyd Wright speaks about man living with himself and the cosmic elements of nature . . . those are beautiful words. I'm not an architect and I don't understand whether he was good or bad, but it makes a lot of sense to live that way . . . whether in a rural or urban area. Let me give you an illustration of what I think he means. He talks about great civilizations that existed for thousands of years—where you can *see* the actual development of people . . . the whole thing. He observes America and sees that in a period of several hundred years we have affected the direction of this earth; we are devastating our nature, our water, and our communities. We make boxes, pour concrete, make freeways. We've disoriented the Black communities, we've destroyed other communities and their roots. The Chicano family is being threatened. We make fun of our Polish communities.

What we have done in a period of several hundred years is just extraordinary. The difference between urban and rural to me is the nostalgia of our family for the field under the hot sun, working and trying to find a better life. And now, in this city, maybe it is the same struggle, but the lives of people are so anonymous. There seem to be possibilities for a better welfare for people. We need jobs, hospitals, equal opportunity. But the reality of the possibility of a better life seems like an impossible bridge for people to cross.

I've only been living in an urban area for three years . . . and I just don't know. I've never, even when I was a farmworker organizer—when I traveled so much of this country working, seemingly without roots—never have I lived anywhere like Milwaukee, an urban city. I was in Stevens Point because we had a strike there, and in a small city named Almond. I was in Oshkosh at the state university and dropped out to work in the fields; I took correspondence courses at the University of Wisconsin—Extension while I was organizing a boycott at Madison, and then I came to Milwaukee. I came here because Cesar Chavez assigned me to come here and start a boycott. It was the first time I ever lived in a large city. I was scared and I'm still very worried as to what is going to happen to people who live here, so many of us in such a meager space.

Look at the tremendous problems facing the inner city, the Spanish-speaking communities, the freaks on the east side of town, the working-class people that nobody pays any attention to. Look at the isolated, suburban dream life of America. I've never seen so much in such a short period of time. It's changed my life completely. I've worked on a farm all my life. I've gambled all of my life, we used to gamble every time we migrated, looking forward to the crops which were coming—if the sun came and if the rain came. We used to take a gamble, traveling 1,800 miles to go pick in the fields. But that is nothing compared to how society gambles with people's lives in urban areas. We'd run out of work in Wautoma or get kicked out of a migrant camp for asking for better wages and then drive somewhere else only to find no work. Life here—I've never seen anything like it. I hear there are places where it is worse. . . .

**This is a Yearbook beamed toward people who teach history, geography, political science, and other social studies. What can we communicate to them? What kind of things do you recommend teachers try to teach their kids? How can we give kids in a suburban community a real sense of what's happening in the Spanish-speaking community? Do we just talk about it, should we try to bring people into schools . . . ?**

I am not sure that I have the answers. Several years ago I was trying to understand the question that you are asking me. It was a lot easier then. Now it's a lot harder. There are so many conflicts that we have talked about, and I'm not a pessimist or else I wouldn't be so actively involved in trying to change things, so there is some optimism. But we are so much a product of the life we are living or have lived—like myself from my particular environment and circumstances and parents. The people who live in the suburbs—the Blacks who are in the inner city—the Polish-American—the German-American—we have all grown up with our own concept of what America is. As we study in school, we try to maintain an equilibrium with what is taught there and what we learn at home. What we really don't do enough is to question more, to confront, and to learn the necessary interrelationships between us and other groups. I see this as an utmost necessity in order to continue living, but then I've been proven wrong before. *I know for sure that we must make education more of a search.* It must be more of a struggle to determine the different factors that affect life. It cannot be just a rote type of learning in a series of subjects. . . . In my own search I've come to understand some things, and I think that when we learn about men, we learn about ourselves.

**Jesus, given your deep concerns, how have you been able to cope with all of the issues and demands on your time?**

We were brought up to realize at an early age that you have to move with the punches. In my family, we were all very close and our father would tell us . . . my father, let me tell you, was our guide—for all of us. For his sons, for my mother, for my aunts and uncles and their families, and for many other people—we grew up that way.

Ever since I left home when I was 17, I have known that, and because of it, I have known more. I still go and talk with him, and recently we were talking pretty much about what you and I are, and he tells me: "Look at your preoccupation and look at what we talk about now. Look at you! It used to be that when you came home, we would put our working clothes on and go out to work in the farm. We used to go and get the tractors going, go out and cut some of the dead branches off the trees in the woods. We'd get home, wash up, and then have supper and a good family conversation." And then I'd tell him about my day-to-day life in Milwaukee, and we'd talk about how to survive. How to do it. About what we as men learn in life. My father still speaks to me and I listen to him as his son, but he also speaks to me as a man.

And in the last ten years, I have given all of my life to come to that realization. The best education, the most astute suggestions that I have heard, are from those who suggest to me to find *some* aspect of life to survive. I try to, and because I do, I cannot drop out. I find *that* knowledge in my family and in my community, and the search for survival is with them. In the last ten years, we have lived a big hunk of our lives. I have met many men and have worked with many different kinds of people, but still the most enjoyable, the most hopeful, and probably the warmest kind of a day-to-day relationship is in my own community.

# 4. The Metropolitan Racial Shift and Three Questions for Inquiry

## Dan W. Dodson

Dan W. Dodson, *who for twenty years was editor of the* Journal of Educational Sociology, *is Professor of Education at New York University where he directed the Center for Human Relations and Community Studies from 1957 to 1967 and served as chairman of the Department of Educational Sociology from 1963 to 1967. He received his bachelor's degree from McMurry College in Abiline, Texas, his master's degree from Southern Methodist University, and his doctorate from New York University.*

*He has served as a consultant to the Board of Education in Mount Vernon, New York; Englewood, New Jersey; New Rochelle, New York; and other cities. His expert testimony has been offered in six federal and two state trials involving desegregation, and he is widely known as an authority on desegregation and other problems of intergroup relations.*

*Recently, he has been a fellow at the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, where he has studied the educational dynamics of the ghetto in two cities: Newark, New Jersey, and White Plains, New York. He has also served as a consultant to the Office of Equal Opportunity and the Department of Education for the state of New Jersey.*

*Professor Dodson retires from his position at New York University in 1972. Because of his deep concern for human rights, civil liberties, and the betterment of mankind, it is only fitting that this Yearbook be dedicated to him. He personifies the scholar whose work and personal involvement embody the best of academe.*

■

In intergroup relations a large and significant revolution is just about complete insofar as its impact on metropolitan America is concerned. This revolution is the vast shift of rural agricultural population which has been displaced in the economy and has moved to the cities. It is predominantly Black. And it portends new and significant approaches to urban problems and the search for identity in the decades ahead.

## The Racial Shift

With the advent of the mechanical cotton picker and related agricultural developments, there was a vast displacement of poor, unskilled labor which became surplus in the rural sections of the South. This was coupled with what was already a steady stream of migrants from the section because of the civil rights issues. Between 1940 and 1950 the South lost 320,788 Black population during a decade in which the Black population of the country as a whole grew by almost one and one-quarter million. During the 1950-60 decade the out-migration from the South reached its peak for this segment of the population when a decline of over a million (or approximately 10%) southern Black population occurred.

Between 1960 and 1970 this movement out of the South began to taper off. Still there was a loss of 752,651 Black population in the region while the Black population of the country as a whole increased from 18,871,831 to 22,672,570. Stated another way, in 1940 less than three million Black Americans lived outside the South. In 1970 ten and one-half million Blacks lived outside the South.

Nor is the sectional shift of the Black population the whole story. The other part of it relates to the change from rural to urban life, both in the South and the remainder of the country. In 1940 only about 5,840,000 Blacks lived in cities or their metropolitan areas. This constituted about 47 percent of the total. By 1960 this percentage had changed to 60. In 1970, the percent of Black population living in the metropolises of America constituted 70 percent of the total.

Truly, this has been a major revolution insofar as intergroup relations are concerned.

In the wake of this revolution there have come several major changes in the society.

- The first is the change in the nature of the metropolis. The Blacks have been largely relegated to the inner-city ghettoes, and the whites have moved to suburban political units where they have tried to shield themselves from the interracial encounter. While some Blacks have also moved to the suburbs, of the estimated 15,064,000 Blacks who live in the metropolises, only about two and one-half million live in these suburban communities.

- The second result of this shift in population is that the inner cities are surfeited with social and welfare problems which are challenging the entire nation's approach to health, education and welfare.

- The third big change created by this shift in population has been in the political structure of the United States. White in his *Making of the President, 1960* stated:

> Just how much the Democratic Party owed to men like Dawson and the Negro vote did not become apparent until 1948. But when in 1948 Harry Truman squeezed ahead of Thomas E. Dewey by 33,612 votes in Illinois, by 17,865 in California, by 7,107 in Ohio, no practicing politician could remain ignorant of how critical was the Negro vote in the Northern big city election.[1]

Because the Blacks could swing the vote between the two evenly divided political parties in several of the most populous states outside the South, Congress finally broke a filibuster and enacted civil rights legislation to protect the minorities from segregation and discrimination in most institutional areas of American life.

- The fourth big change has been the sweep of militancy and the search for "Black Power" by a segment of the Black community itself. This has had an attendant tendency toward self-segregation, and an effort to use residential segregation as a way of achieving a social and economic power base in the urban community.

### Three Key Questions

The four changes referred to above suggest the present status of race relations. There is indication that the Black migration will continue during the first part of the present decade. However, in its major thrust, the migrations of Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the East, and Mexican Americans and Blacks into the West appear to be about complete. In the coming decades, however, there will be some differential in urban birth rates between Black and Hispanic groups, on the one hand, and the white populations on the other. This is because the people who migrate tend to be young adults who are at the optimum stage of childbearing. In Newark, New Jersey, for instance, in 1970 the age group under 25 years in the non-Black population was 39 percent of the total. In the Black group the corresponding figure was 56 percent. The incoming population tends to be younger than that which it displaces. This will exaggerate the Black input in the short run because of age differences, but by and large the past three decades have been ones of population shifts involving minority peoples—Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans principally. The decades ahead will be concerned primarily with developing more viable ways of relating to each other as peoples living within these great metropolises.

This learning to live together in the decades ahead involves three interrelated questions the answers to which will largely determine the future of this country.

### Question 1: "Can a Great City Exist, Except on the Backs of the Poor?"

The great cities have always had a new stream of incoming population which was marginal and which would undercut those who were just above them in socio-economic status. Before a group could organize itself and demand better conditions, it was pushed out into mainstream by the newcomers. Hence, there were always new groups who would provide the amenities which made life exciting for the well-to-do. Today, there is no new group coming into the country to take the places of those who are on the bottom rung of the socio-economic ladder. It is the hope of the cities that computerized technology will take the place of muscles which the poor provided, and that such a population will not be necessary. That hope is tempered by the fact that an underclass exists in every major city, but these present underclasses are not now going to allow their compromise in status to be exploited through discrimination to the advantage of those with status.

In the decade ahead the encapsulated poor in the inner cities, who are heavily Negro, are going to demand decent schools, adequate shelter, and a living wage. They are not going to allow their circumstance of poverty to force them to undercut each other in the labor market. The minimum wage laws are a part of this effort. They are also demanding that those on welfare receive more than the pauper's pittance which merely held body and soul together, but did not allow one to live in dignity. Thus, when the hospital workers became organized and demanded adequate pay the costs of hospital care went up precipitously. One begins to realize that this type of community service had existed through these years at such a bargain only because the poor had subsidized it with their labor. And so it is with schoolteachers, policemen, garbage collectors and firemen. They are now able to demand, for the first time, adequate wages for their services. As these types of demands rise, the plight of the city worsens. Today all the major cities are on the verge of bankruptcy, and no end appears in sight. The city is in difficulty because an urban poor are less needed than ever for exploitation and because the present urban poor are demanding a better quality of life.

### Question 2: "Can the City Be Humanized and Democratized?"

Heretofore the city was never required to alter its structures to make them more human. New groups were forever pushing from underneath, hence the populations were pushed through the structure which existed.

Inner-city schools have been charity schools for the poor almost since the beginning of the city. A major portion of the inner cities has been exploited by industry and commerce. When they have become polluted, deteriorated, and bankrupt, businesses have abandoned them like last year's fouled bird nest. When it is no longer profitable to exploit the population further, they withdraw to new environs.

These encapsulated populations within these inner cities are not being pushed from underneath by the incoming groups. Hence their residence in the city is sufficiently long for them to learn the skills of social action to restructure these cities to make them more human. For the first time in the history of the city, these encapsulated minorities have acquired leverages to power. Mostly this has been through the ballot. However, when issues could not be settled at the voting booth they were "taken to the street." The riots and other disruptions demonstrated that these erstwhile powerless people could no longer be ignored in the city. As a result, there is in process a testing as to whether the powerless who have traditionally been the discriminated against—the ignored or the exploited—can now require that the structures be changed to become more human and responsive.

It is not yet determined whether the city will stand as a viable environment. Cities must provide housing, health services, and welfare which will meet modern and humane standards for all the poor who have now become encapsulated within them. No major city has achieved this goal.

There is an old saying that "A breath of city air makes a man free." It may be polluted air, but the city wrenches men free from the traditions and rituals of the past. It erodes the mythologies which were developed in more rural situations, and creates a new man. Oscar Handlin in *The Uprooted* describes in a graphic way this process among those of the past migrations.[2] Harvey Cox in *The Secular City* suggests how this erosion occurs. He refers to it not as a closed system of secularism, but as a continuous process of secularization.[3] It is produced by people of different beliefs, mores, folkways, and habits being brought out of their isolation and into interaction with other cultures and groups.

All institutions tend to be in trouble in the inner city. If they were not, the city would not be performing its function. This is the case because existing institutional structures were developed in more rural, more isolated, more "tribal" climes. In the city these institutions with their rituals, beliefs, and methods of control have to be validated against the larger, more cosmopolitan whole. Hence, as the process of invasion and succession slows up—the process by which new groups push others out of the city—peoples are going to be increasingly brought into encounter with each other across lines of race, creed, and other differences, and more viable relationships will have to be developed. This is the humanizing role which is ahead of us.

A major aspect of this process in the immediate future relates to the legitimation of institutions which provide services in the lives of the people they purport to serve. When the Declaration of Independence was written it was declared that governments derive their just powers from "the consent of the governed." In other words, the legitimation of power and authority was accomplished by the "consent" of the people. At that time communication was so slow that it was impossible for the average man to know the issues. He elected someone to go to the legislative places and decide for him, i.e., he gave his consent to the authority which was exercised over him.

Today, communication is so well-developed that people literally live on the brink of every public decision which has to be made. Those who exercise authority no longer can vote simply as they think best, because the people have given them that prerogative. Today, the authority of government rests on public opinion. Those who claim authority have to take into account that their public is now in on the decision-making process, and that their job is not merely to vote as they please, but instead their task is the implementation of public opinion. The average citizen is no longer willing to sign a blank check and turn his decision-making equity over to someone else. The *demos* are demanding that the experts in government, in practically all walks of life, become responsible to the opinion of the community. They are demanding that they be allowed to participate in the decision-making process, and that their opinions be reflected in social policy. A government which does not respect this base of power soon loses its credibility and loses its control.

This means that the legitimacy of government, and the legitimacy of the social institutions, be established through public opinion rather than through the "consent of the governed." This shift means we are in a new ball game . . . especially as it relates to the poor, the minorities, and others encapsulated in the inner city. Those institutional agents whose power has been legitimated in the power structure of the dominant group no longer find it easy to deal with the powerless over whom they have exercised control in the past.

One of the better illustrations of this problem is that of the schools. These institutions have been run by the powerful of the society to achieve their goals and objectives. Primarily they have sought to socialize all children into the existing system. In a racist society, this means that the Black child is expected to become socialized into the very system which holds that he is second class and inferior. In most inner cities the power exercised over Black and poor children has little or no legitimacy either in their lives or the lives of their parents. When schools do not have legitimacy they become custodial in nature. Few custodial programs encourage creativity in the people who are their charges. Hence, many inner-city schools are a shambles. Order cannot be maintained so that a viable learning situation can be developed.

The "establishment" resorts to all kinds of artifices to accomplish this process of socialization. The process operates without any serious attempt to involve the poor, minority groups, and other marginal citizens. There is no interest in legitimating their power in terms of the problems faced by those they serve. Teachers, for instance, still rely on the authority vested in them by the traditional process called "in loco parentis," i.e., in place of parents. By the wildest stretch of the imagination, however, most teachers of the urban poor could not be thought of as "in place of parents" for these children.

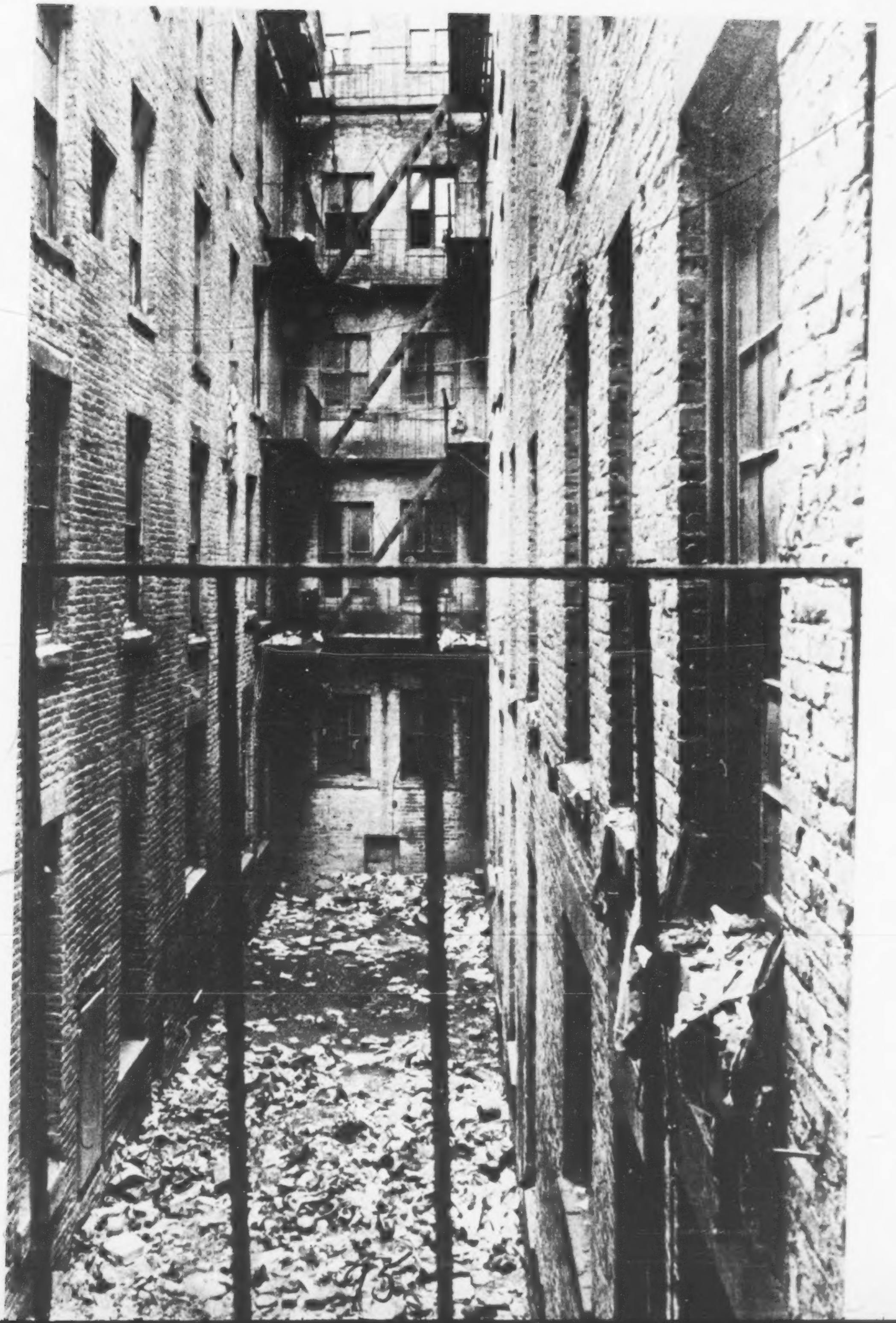
The new legitimation of power that must occur will require completely different approaches to schoolroom discipline and to institutional-community relationships to those of the past. There are very few models in education where the authority of the leadership is legitimated through public opinion of the group served—especially if the group is a minority one.

The same problem presents itself in other institutional areas also. In health, for instance, there are concerted moves by the poor in local communities to capture control of hospitals and clinics which are designed to provide services for them. In community planning, heretofore, those in power have done the planning for their own benefit. In Model Cities programs and numerous others, the poor have begun to demand that they be involved in the planning which affects their welfare and destiny.

These references have been made to indicate what is believed to be a major issue in the decades ahead. If the city is to be humanized, those who live there and are served by the agencies and governments have a right to expect that the services be legitimated in their own lives. Services offered under any other circumstances are the lowest type of welfare, and are debilitating to the human spirit. This issue of legitimation is only one of the many problems related to restructuring the city to make it human.

### Question 3: "Can the City Integrate the New Populations and Spin Off Their Members to the Suburbs as Has Happened in the Past?"

Louis Wirth's classic study of the Jewish population of Chicago, called *The Ghetto,* presented a frame of reference for looking at the



process of integrating people into the common life of the community.[4] The incoming group settles in the deteriorated housing areas at the fringe of the business district. These are traditionally the slums—the deteriorated housing, the old school buildings, warehouses and industrial plants. They share these areas with the deviants of the society, the underworld, the prostitutes, the drug addicts, and the derelicts. From there they move successively through the outlying zones of the city as they succeed, until finally they reach the suburban communities. Frequently, by that time, the identity of many has been lost; they become part of the mainstream.

Without new groups to push these newcomers out, there are real questions as to whether this historic process will now stop, or whether these Blacks and Puerto Ricans will likewise be spun off to the suburban communities. If the process does not continue we face the prospect of having a more rigidly stratified society, with whites living in the suburban areas and outer sections of the metropolis, and the Blacks and Puerto Ricans segregated into the inner city. Since the cities cannot provide services for these masses of encapsulated poor without outside help, and since such resegregation would effectively deprive the minorities of political opportunity to make coalitions to do something about their estate, they would be left to stew in their own impotence.

The data on this matter is equivocal. Newark, New Jersey, a city of 405,220 population in 1960, for instance, lost 90,930 non-Black population and gained 68,127 Blacks in the 1960-70 decade and had a net loss of population of some 20,000. The Blacks became enough of a political majority in 1970 to elect a Black mayor. The public schools in 1970 were 93 percent Black or Puerto Rican. The city already has one of the highest tax rates in the nation. The state is controlled politically by the suburban vote, hence there is little disposition of these outsiders to help. Hence, the election victory of the Black mayor was largely a Pyrrhic one since there were few resources with which to improve conditions. In the academic school year 1969-70, the school system spent only about $726 on the education of her youths, while some school systems within a 50-mile radius were spending over $2,000 per child on education.

Seen from this vantage point, it would seem that Blacks are only symbolically better off outside the rural South than they were in it. In the South, they were encapsulated on the plantations and in the tobacco fields and shut out of the mainstream of life. In the cities, they face the danger of being segregated where they may rot in slums.

This is but one side of the coin. The other is much brighter. There are some indications that the city is performing its traditional function of transmuting the peasant, the pauper, and the ignorant into a new metropolitan man in these new populations the same as it did with the ones before them. One illustration will suffice. Brooklyn, N.Y. had a population of 2,600,000 in 1960. This was the third largest concentration of urban life in America, if the remainder of New York City were left off. It would be exceeded only by Chicago and Los Angeles. In 1960, of these 2,600,000 people, 71.6 percent were either foreign-born, children of foreign-born, Negro, or Puerto Rican. In either instance, practically speaking, less than thirty percent of that total population was as much as three generations acclimated to the most complex living arrangement in the world. Yet, between 1950 and 1960 Brooklyn spun off to the suburbs more than one-half million population who now fit the image of suburban life. At the same time, Brooklyn acquired almost as large a number of poor and other marginal people in their places. If Brooklyn were seen as a vast social system whose input every ten years was one-half million of the most marginal, the most unwelcome, the most despised, and every ten years spun off an equivalent number who now fit the image of middle class, one would have to say this is the most dramatic thing happening in America. It is in this process that the human estate is being changed and the new man forged.

The question is whether this operation will continue when the new mix in the borough is increasingly Black and when there are no new inputs of other kinds. The evidence seems to indicate that the process is going forward. The Black population of the metropolises of America shifted between 1960 and 1970 to the extent that Black suburban residents increased by over three-fourths of a million. This means that approximately one Black in twenty-five relocated to the suburbs in the decade. This is attested by the growth of Black sections in many suburban communities.

There is obvious social disorganization as these present encapsulated poor are caught in the toils of adaptation to the urban milieu. Crime, delinquency, illegitimacy, welfare, and drug addiction beset alienated populations as they go through the process of learning to cope with the city. As ghastly as they are, they are probably no worse than the disorganization which beset these groups and their forebears in the rural sections from which they migrated.

There is no intention here to rationalize the problems. This analysis is intended to give some perspective, and to provide background with which to say the minority population will either become integrated into the power stream of the civilization, or they will wreck the cities. They are physically concentrated now where they can do it.

The great hope of the future is that we build on the great shifts of population which have revolutionized America, and now move forward to complete the American dream of erasing every vestige of second-class citizenship. This is the challenge of the decades ahead.

## FOOTNOTES

[1] Theodore White, *The Making of the President, 1960* (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1961), p. 233. Copyright © 1961 by Theodore White. Used by permission of Atheneum Publishers.

[2] Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York: Grosset's Universal Library, 1951).

[3] Harvey Cox, *The Secular City* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1965).

[4] Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928).

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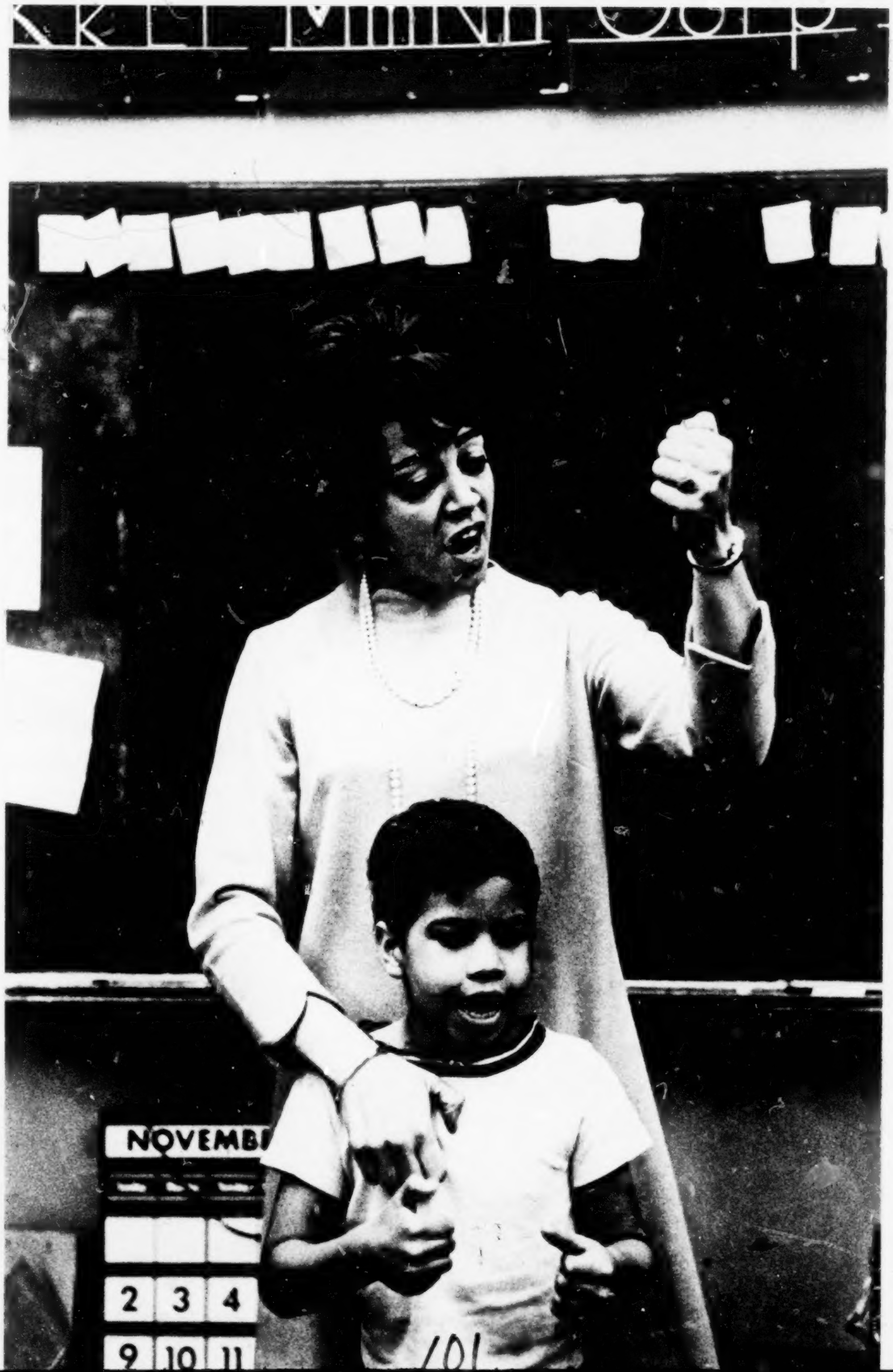
# Part Two

# The Student, the City, and the Curriculum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# 5. Creative Teacher-Student Learning Experiences About the City

Anna S. Ochoa and Rodney F. Allen

Anna S. Ochoa *has had thirteen years of teaching experience with elementary, junior high, and high school students. She served as Social Studies Department Chairman for six years in Grand Blanc Community Schools, Grand Blanc, Michigan. She did her undergraduate work at Wayne State University, obtained her master's degree (history) at the University of Michigan, and earned her doctorate at the University of Washington, Seattle. Currently, she is Assistant Professor and Associate Department Head in the Department of Social Studies Education at Florida State University, Tallahassee.*

Rodney F. Allen *has had six years of teaching experience with secondary-school students in both junior high and senior high schools. He did his undergraduate work at the University of Delaware, did graduate study at the American University, Beirut, and Wake Forest College, earned master's degrees in history at the University of Delaware and the Carnegie Institute of Technology, and is completing work for the doctorate at Carnegie-Mellon University. Currently, he is Assistant Professor of Social Studies Education and Principal Investigator for the Religion-Social Studies Curriculum Project, Florida State University, Tallahassee.*

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The problems entailed in teaching students about urban life are substantially different from teaching about life in colonial America or about life in Brazil. In these latter examples, which are the traditional stock in trade of social studies teachers, the challenge is centered on making the study of remote times and places relevant and personal—a difficult, if not impossible, task. On the contrary, studies of contemporary urban life deal with the immediate and personal reality of many students. Nonetheless, it is this very reality that poses other challenges—those of objectivity and order. Most of us, adults and children alike, are so enveloped by the complexities of urban life that we find it most difficult to stand back and examine its many facets systematically.

This chapter will present a wide range of teaching-learning experiences that we hope will trigger the imagination of teachers as they design instruction that will result in greater awareness of urban man. These experiences can be classified as follows:[1]

1. **Knowing Modules**
2. **Sensitivity Modules**
3. **Creativity Modules**
4. **Social Participation-Skill Modules**
5. **Valuing Modules**
6. **Community Research Modules**
7. **Community Seminars**
8. **Social Action Modules**

## 1. Knowing Modules

Some basic questions need to be answered before teachers can begin to design learning environments that will develop and enrich the meaning a young child brings to his urban environment.

1. What are some important concepts about urban life that can be learned by elementary students?
2. What are some important generalizations about urban life that can be examined in elementary classrooms?

The following concepts are neither definitive nor exhaustive. They do, however, represent some ideas regarding what children can learn as well as some ways that teachers can facilitate such learning.

### *Concepts Related to Urban Life*

The following terms represent a variety of concepts that have been used by authors in this Yearbook and others concerned with urban people.

alienation
anonymity
city
civil rights
class mobility
community control
rural
segregation
slum housing
slum landlord
social activist
social class
pollution
power
prejudice
protest
congestion
de facto segregation
ghetto
integration
megalopolis
metropolitan area
standards of living
subculture
suburban
unemployment
urban
urban renewal
race
racial strife
welfare

Although this list of concepts is a lengthy one, expanding the student's conceptual framework of urban life requires specific attention to as many of these concepts as possible. Teachers cannot depend on the random experiences of the student to build these understandings systematically. Rather, the teacher needs to create an environment where both teacher and learner can confront and explore these ideas in productive ways.

Almost any second grader can tell you that a city is a big place, with lots of tall buildings and lots of traffic. These characteristics are obvious but simplistic. The concept requires further refinement. For example, how is a city different from a town, a farm area, or a suburb? What kinds of areas make up a city? What is a ghetto? Who runs a city? What problems does a city face?

Some of the most powerful teaching strategies that develop thinking skills have been designed by Hilda Taba. An outline of these strategies is presented below.

### CONCEPT FORMATION[2]

| *Overt Activity** | *Covert Activity*** | *Eliciting Questions**** |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Enumeration and listing. | Differentiation. | What did you see? Hear? Note? |
| 2. Grouping. | Identifying, common properties, abstracting. | What belongs together? On what criterion? |
| 3. Labeling, categorizing. | Determining the hierarchical order of items. Super- and subordination. | How would you call these groups? What belongs under what? |

* The overt activity column defines the verbal behavior that the student is likely to demonstrate in response to the teacher's question.

** The covert activity column describes the intellectual process that the child engages in.

*** The eliciting questions column identifies the question the teacher asks at each step.

Concept learning cannot take place in a vacuum. Students need to be presented with a variety of stimuli and experiences that can serve as a basis for exercising the intellectual skills that are involved in concept development. Since the concepts that have been identified can be observed on a firsthand basis in the environment of most children, teachers should not depend totally on such classroom learning tools as pictures, books, or films. Rather, the community in which the student lives can serve as a powerful laboratory for experiencing and understanding urban man.

Taking children on a bus tour of the central area (ghetto) in their city or a nearby city would provide some of the necessary background for students to deal knowledgeably with the concept of ghetto. Inviting a minister, priest, social worker, doctor, or teacher who works in the ghetto is another way to enhance the experience of the child. Still additional ways to enrich the child's experiential background are to show such films as:

*Growing Up Black* (Human Relations Series), Warren Schloat Productions. In exclusive, first-person interviews, five young blacks tell about their first encounters with racial prejudice. They dramatically reveal the bitter realities of being born black in a white society.

*William—From Georgia to Harlem.* (The Many Americans), Learning Corporation of America, 711 5th Avenue, N.Y., N.Y., 10022. Color, LC-#78-709722. Rental $15.00, 15 minutes. A film about a southern black farm boy who moves to Harlem.

or read such stories and poems as:

Agle, Nan Hayden. *Maple Street.* New York: The Seabury Press, 1970. A story of a young girl's fight to save her black neighborhood. (For younger children.)

Bonham, Frank. *Durango Street.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1965. A story of teenage black street gangs in Southern California. (For older children.)

Erwin, Betty K. *Behind the Magic Hive.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1969. A powerful story of a young black girl's life in a city slum. (For younger children.)

Goro, Herb. *The Block.* New York: Random House, 1970. A true-to-life presentation of life in one city block in the Bronx. A series of personal profiles is presented in the first person with powerful photographs. The personal profiles can serve as springboards for class discussions, valuing, and role-playing. (For older children.)

Graham, Lorenze. *Whose Town?* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1969. A black family deals with racism in a northern community. The struggle between violence and non-violence as ways of attaining equality are clearly defined. (For older children.)

Holland, John, editor. *The Way It Is.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1969. A photographic essay of the ghetto. The pictures are taken by boys in a Brooklyn school (Intermediate School 49). The poetry and script are also theirs. Depicts ghetto conditions through children's eyes. (For all children.)

Joseph, Stephen M., editor. *The Me Nobody Knows: Children's Voices from the Ghetto.* New York: Avon Books, 1969. (Poems.)

Larrick, Nancy, editor. *On City Streets.* New York: Bantam Books, 1964. (Poems—for older children.)

Mayerson, Charlotte Leon. *Two Blocks Apart: Juan Gonzales and Peter Quinn.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1965. An account of the daily lives of two boys who live in the same neighborhood in New York City. Juan is from a poor Puerto Rican family, Peter from a middle-class Irish Catholic family. In spite of many differences, there are many attitudes that they share. (For older children.)

Rinkoff, Barbara. *Member of the Gang.* New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1968. The story of a teenaged boy who makes a decision about joining a gang in the ghetto. This book vividly describes life in the inner city. (For older children.)

Snyder, Anne. *50,000 Names for Jeff.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969. A moving story of a black family's fight for decent housing. (For younger children.)

Vogel, Ray. *The Other City.* New York: David White, 1969. A powerful photographic essay for children that describes life in the ghetto. (For all children.)

Vroman, Mary Elizabeth. *Harlem Summer.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967. A black southern boy spends a summer in Harlem, clarifies his identity and becomes a man. Reveals conditions in Harlem. (For older children.)

Many excellent poems can be found in the following sources:

Adoff, Arnold. *Black Out Loud.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1970. Contains many poems that reveal the black man's perception of America.

———. *Black on Black: Commentaries by Negro Americans.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969. "Not Poor, Just Broke." Dick Gregory shares his hopes as well as despair in elementary school. The story conveys the shame and despair he felt—as he is embarrassed by his first-grade teacher.

———. *I Am The Darker Brother.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968. Poems by many blacks who reveal the frustrations of Black Americans.

The poems that follow have been taken from *The Fourth Street i,* a current publication by people who live on East Fourth Street in New York City. Its powerful photographs are accompanied by poetry and prose that honestly reveal life in an urban area. We advise any teacher studying urban man to write to: *The Fourth Street i,* c/o Brigade in Action, 136 Avenue C, New York, N.Y., 10009, for a subscription.

### MY STREET[3]

In my house there were rats and
mouse. There in the hall way there
were junkies. I said mother do we have
to live in here I said. The super did
not give a hell of a damn what was
happen to us because he had kids
like they were bad. There were furni-
ture on the roof floor. They set it
on fire and all of a sudit the fire
start to smell. We were asleep. My
father woke up. I and my sister had
to call the firemen. Then he told us
to head for the stairs so we did. The
next day it was beautiful.

*Gregory Fludd*

### MY CITY[4]

I live on 4th Street and the land is
very, very dirty. The air is polluted
and the water is too, and the street
on which I live is very dirty. The
house I live has a backyard.
It is dirty. I wish that the streets
would be of gold and glass. I
wish that the windows and the
water were very clean and that the
land were of gold and glass,
and the air would be very, very,
clean, and the houses would be
very clean.

*Heriberto*

### THE SOUNDS IN THE MORNING[5]

The sounds in the morning
Are peaceful and quiet
But then in the evening
It becomes all a riot.

Then in the nighttime
People go home and sleep
Then you hear a sound
Going beep, beep, beep, beep.

It's your father you haven't seen
for a long, long time
It is still night or is it morning
This is a poem that I think rymes.

*Irene*

### NEW YORK[6]

I put New York into a can
and sent it to New Amsterdam.
But as to salt I had forgotten,
When it arrived New York was rotten.

The Dutch they built a little town,
That's never to be forgotten,
But as this town began to grow
The place began to rotten.

Now we have to stop the spoils,
Do we use a cork?
It's up to you to think things out,
I'm sure you know New York.

*Marian Edwards*

### THE BLOCK I LIVE ON[7]

I was born on 4th Street and Ave. D.
When I was a baby I like it because it
was a quiet block. When I got bigger
it was bad like realie bad I asked my
mother if we would move. But she
said yes and den changes her mind in
winter it's not bad but in summer it
bad because their is a lot of garbage
on the streets. The garbage men don't
like to pick it up because it is too
much and the drug addicts are something else and bums.
Ladies and men be drunk in streets
sometimes I look out my window I see
lots of it not one fight it another sometimes it's good or sometimes it's bad.
But anyway, that's the block I live on.

*Frankie Deanne*

### A DREAM[8]

This is a dream
That I think you might like
Because to me baby
It is out of sight.
It was a dream about freedom
Where everything went right
Where you could walk through
the streets, day-night
You could walk through the
streets, without being rough.
Without fighting the guy,
who tries to be tough.
Yes, this is the dream,
that I think is out of sight.
Cause this is the dream,
I had last night.

*Shelly Bryan*

From such a wide range of background experiences, children will be able to engage in the task of concept formation productively.

Applying the *first* Taba Task, the teacher would follow a structure similar to the one which follows.

*Teacher:* Let's list as many things as we can remember about the city from our trip, the people we've talked to, the films we have seen, and the stories we have read.

Children should be able to respond with many examples that they have encountered by seeing films, reading poems, visiting the ghetto and talking to someone who works or lives there. As the children answer, their contributions can be listed on the blackboard.

*Teacher:* What items in our list go together? Why do you think so? (On what criterion)

As students identify items, they should be asked to explain what those items have in common (e.g., drugstores and bars go together because they both sell things). Once the criterion (places that sell things) has been established, the list can be scanned for other items that fit.

*Teacher:* Look over the items to see what else goes together. Why do they go together?

Children will probably arrive at a variety of ways of grouping the items that they associate with the ghetto. It is important that all groupings be accepted as long as there is a reasonable explanation for grouping them. Once the items have been grouped (some items may be placed in more than one category) the children are asked to give each of the groups a name (label).

No specific right answer emerges from this process. Rather, students not only gain a more refined understanding of what a city is, but they also expand their ability to form concepts.

To extend these learnings further, students may compare the ghetto area of a city with more privileged neighborhoods or suburbs. Having paid a visit to a suburb or a white-collar neighborhood, in addition to drawing on their own experiences, the students should be ready to participate in the *second* cognitive task—interpretation of data.

### INTERPRETATION OF DATA[9]

| *Overt Activity* | *Covert Mental Operations* | *Eliciting Questions* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Identifying points. | Differentiating. | What did you notice? see? find? |
| 2. Explaining items of identified information. | Relating points to each other. Determining cause and effect relationships. | Why did so-and-so happen? |
| 3. Making inferences. | Going beyond what is given. Finding implications, extrapolating. | What does this mean? What picture does it create in your mind? What would you conclude? |

*Teacher*: What did you notice in this neighborhood that is different from a ghetto?

Children should be able to identify the conditions of houses, buildings, streets, congestion, etc.

*Teacher*: Why do you think these differences exist?

In this step, children are challenged to speculate about the causes of poverty. In effect, they are dealing with the question of why there is an unequal distribution of wealth: Why are some people poor, while others have an abundance of material goods? Students are likely to offer explanations in terms of the values that are common to their social class.

For example, middle-class children might say that people in the ghetto are poor because they are not willing to work hard, or that they want something for nothing. In such instances, the teacher needs to ask students a variety of questions that can lead them to test the inferences they are making. A welfare worker can be invited to class to discuss this issue. Or, the idea can be challenged by asking if the people who are poor have the skills to hold jobs that pay well. What does it take to be a businessman, a banker, a social worker, a mechanic, or a plumber? Do we have any evidence that most poor people turn down jobs when they are given an opportunity? Are there people who are not poor but are lazy? Both by raising questions and by presenting children with other sources of data (e.g., the welfare worker) teachers can provide youngsters with an opportunity to confirm or deny their inferences.

### Generalizations: (Hypotheses) *About Urban Life*

The following statements should be viewed as hypotheses that children might be engaged in testing. They should not be viewed as definitive knowledge.

1. One-third of the people in the United States live in poverty.
2. People living in a poverty culture have different values from those living in affluence.
3. Welfare programs help to eliminate poverty.
4. The whole of society pays for the existence of poverty.
5. Schools in the ghetto are of poor quality.
6. Crime rates are higher in low-income areas.
7. Education contributes to upward mobility.
8. White slum landlords contribute to the poor housing that is found in ghettos.
9. The problems of poverty are closely related to racial discrimination.
10. American society is essentially racist.
11. Access to power is systematically denied to most minority (non-white) groups.

The following steps are involved in the testing of a hypothesis:

(1) Defining the terms that appear in the hypothesis.
(2) Deducing the consequences of the hypothesis.
(3) Gathering evidence (data). Data sources may consist of:
    a. remembered experience (This kind of data is derived from the students' experiences, the experiences of parents, teachers, or other adults. Books, magazines, pamphlets, and newspapers are other sources of remembered experience.)

b. observation and experimentation (Community surveys, interviews, questionnaires—represent a few examples of observation and experimentation that older children can employ.)[10]

(4) Drawing conclusions.

For example, if a class decides to examine the hypothesis that welfare programs help reduce poverty, a teacher might proceed in the following way.

(1) *Involving the youngsters in a definition of the terms of the hypothesis: welfare program, reduce, and poverty:*
The class might agree to use one example of a welfare program such as Aid to Dependent Children as an example whose effect on poverty they will test. In defining the term *reduce,* they will have to decide whether they will stipulate that it means that the number of poor people will be fewer or that the level of income of the poor will increase or that both meanings should apply. Finally, they will have to deal with the meaning of poverty. They can accept the U.S. Department of Labor figure of $3,000.00 for a family of four or they may choose to stipulate a meaning of their own.

(2) *Identifying the Consequences of the Hypothesis:*
At least two implications grow out of this hypothesis. First, if welfare programs help to reduce the frequency and/or extent of poverty, then persons who have been the recipients of such programs will show some evidence of moving out of the poverty category. For example, the children whose parent receives ADC will work themselves out of a poverty classification. Conversely, poor people who do not receive this assistance are more likely to remain poor. Testing out these consequences will help to confirm or deny the hypothesis that ADC helps to reduce poverty.

(3) *Gathering Data* in this case will probably have to rely largely on authorities. A welfare worker who is involved in administering this kind of program can be invited to class to discuss the impact of ADC on poverty. Magazine or newspaper articles can be found that deal with the topic. A representative from a Community Action Project may also be asked to discuss the issue with students. In each case students should be alerted to listen and look for the evidence the persons present to support their views. Does the program show signs of helping to improve the income level of the poor and/or does it appear to be reducing the number of persons who require such assistance?

(4) *Drawing Conclusions:*

Once students have gathered and examined this evidence, they should be able to determine if this welfare program does indeed help to reduce poverty. If it does, their hypothesis is confirmed. If their hypothesis is denied, still another question emerges. If this welfare program does not appear to reduce poverty, is there any reason for maintaining it? Does the program achieve other goals—such as providing poor children with minimum nutrition that they would not otherwise receive?

By using graphs or charts as springboards, teachers can support a variety of learnings. These specialized forms of presenting knowledge require certain skills that can be learned by students from upper elementary grades on. Understanding the information presented in a chart or graph requires a variety of thinking skills—interpretation, translation, generalization. Further, once students have derived a generalization (hypothesis) from the chart or graph, they can test out the hypothesis in their own state or community. In the chart below, information is pre-

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES: BY SEX AND COLOR[11]

Source: U.S. Department of Labor

| Year | *Unemployment Rate* | | | *White* | | | *Non-white* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female |
| 1948 | 3.8 | 3.6 | 4.1 | 3.5 | 3.4 | 3.8 | 5.9 | 5.8 | 6.1 |
| 1949 | 5.9 | 5.9 | 6.0 | 5.6 | 5.6 | 5.7 | 8.9 | 9.6 | 7.9 |
| 1950 | 5.3 | 5.1 | 5.7 | 4.9 | 4.7 | 5.3 | 9.0 | 9.4 | 8.4 |
| 1951 | 3.3 | 2.8 | 4.4 | 3.1 | 2.6 | 4.2 | 5.3 | 4.9 | 6.1 |
| 1952 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 3.6 | 2.8 | 2.5 | 3.3 | 5.4 | 5.2 | 5.7 |
| 1953 | 2.9 | 2.8 | 3.3 | 2.7 | 2.5 | 3.1 | 4.5 | 4.8 | 4.1 |
| 1954 | 5.5 | 5.3 | 6.0 | 5.0 | 4.8 | 5.6 | 9.9 | 10.3 | 9.3 |
| 1955 | 4.4 | 4.2 | 4.9 | 3.9 | 3.7 | 4.3 | 8.7 | 8.8 | 8.4 |
| 1956 | 4.1 | 3.8 | 4.8 | 3.6 | 3.4 | 4.2 | 8.3 | 7.9 | 8.9 |
| 1957 | 4.3 | 4.1 | 4.7 | 3.8 | 3.6 | 4.3 | 7.9 | 8.3 | 7.3 |
| 1958 | 6.8 | 6.8 | 6.8 | 6.1 | 6.1 | 6.2 | 12.6 | 13.8 | 10.8 |
| 1959 | 5.5 | 5.3 | 5.9 | 4.8 | 4.6 | 5.3 | 10.7 | 11.5 | 9.4 |
| 1960 | 5.5 | 5.4 | 5.9 | 4.9 | 4.8 | 5.3 | 10.2 | 10.7 | 9.4 |
| 1961 | 6.7 | 6.4 | 7.2 | 6.0 | 5.7 | 6.5 | 12.4 | 12.8 | 11.8 |
| 1962 | 5.5 | 5.2 | 6.2 | 4.9 | 4.6 | 5.5 | 10.9 | 10.9 | 11.0 |
| 1963 | 5.7 | 5.2 | 6.5 | 5.0 | 4.7 | 5.8 | 10.8 | 10.5 | 11.2 |
| 1964 | 5.2 | 4.6 | 6.2 | 4.6 | 4.1 | 5.5 | 9.6 | 8.9 | 10.6 |
| 1965 | 4.5 | 4.0 | 5.5 | 4.1 | 3.6 | 5.0 | 8.1 | 7.4 | 9.2 |
| 1966 | 3.8 | 3.2 | 4.8 | 3.3 | 2.8 | 4.3 | 7.3 | 6.3 | 8.6 |
| 1967 | 3.8 | 3.1 | 5.2 | 3.4 | 2.7 | 4.6 | 7.4 | 6.0 | 9.1 |
| 1968 | 3.6 | 2.9 | 4.8 | 3.2 | 2.6 | 4.3 | 6.7 | 5.6 | 8.3 |

sented regarding the comparative unemployment rates of whites and non-whites in the U.S. as compared with the total population.

The previous model for testing a generalization can then be applied. Three hypotheses can emerge from the data presented in the graph: (1) The Negro unemployment rate in (our town) will be equal to the national unemployment rate for the last year (1971). (2) The white unemployment rate in (our town) will be equal to the national unemployment rate for the last year (1971). (3) The total unemployment rate will be equal to the national unemployment rate for the last year (1971).

As the model for testing a generalization is applied, students will have to define unemployment rate (the average annual rate of unemployment). Secondly, they will have to collect data from city census figures and from the local city hall. Once they have obtained this information, they can determine whether or not their hypotheses are supported. If the rate of unemployment in the city either exceeds or falls short of the national average, students can suggest reasons for the differences. If their figures do agree with the national average, this conclusion can lead them to try to explain the reasons for the differences in the rates of unemployment in the white and non-white populations.

Other tables presenting data on urban questions can be found in:

1. Seymour Kurtz, editor. *The New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac.* New York: The New York Times, 1970.
2. U.S. Dept. of Commerce. *Statistical Abstract of the United States.* U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.: The Government Printing Office.

Don C. Bennett presents a variety of generalizations that geographers have derived with respect to the ghetto such as:[12]

(1) the size of ghettos is related to city size, i.e., the largest ghettos, in general, are found in the largest cities.

(2) the ratio of whites to blacks in a city varies considerably both regionally and locally.

(3) the rate of growth of ghettos is related to city size and ghetto size. Growth is faster in the larger cities and where there are existing large ghettos.

He provides a formula for computing the Index of Segregation that students can apply to their own communities. Additionally, he examines phenomena that are spatially associated with the ghetto. For example, ghettos usually have the following characteristics:

(1) among the highest population densities

(2) among the highest birth rates

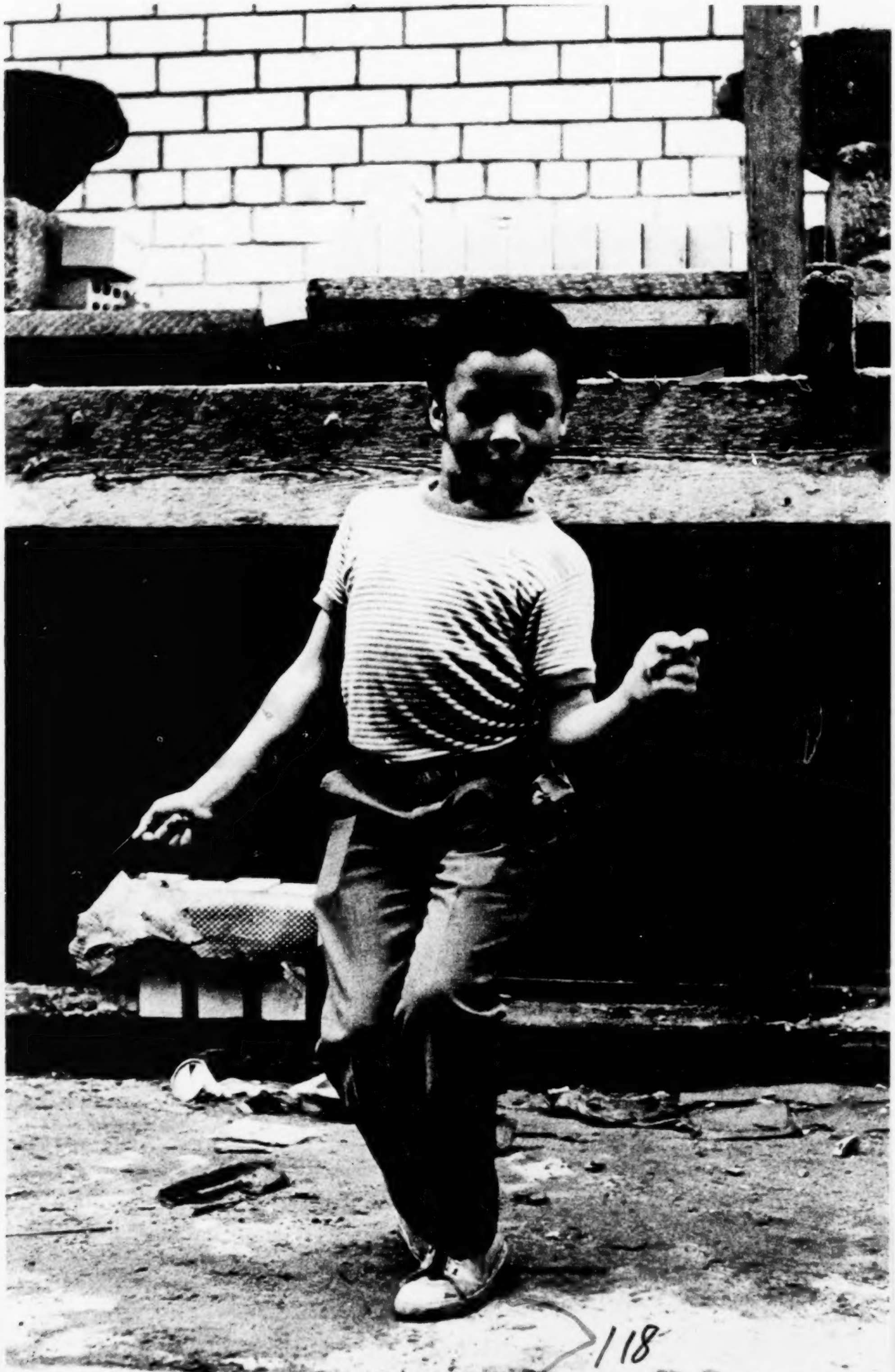
(3) among the highest death rates, especially infant mortality rates
(4) among the lowest levels of educational attainment
(5) among the highest rates of unemployment
(6) among the lowest income
(7) among the highest incidence of substandard housing
(8) among the highest rates of persons on welfare
(9) among the highest crime rates.

Each of these characteristics can be examined by students in their own communities or nearby cities. Teachers are strongly urged to read the Bennett article carefully. It contains not only geographic understandings related to the ghetto but a wide variety of suggested learning activities.

Another useful article from a geographic view is: Gary Manson and Carol J. Price, "Introducing Cities to Elementary School Children," *Journal of Geography*. May, 1969, pp. 295-300. This article treats such concepts as the number and occupational diversity of the population of a city as well as the concepts of metropolitan area and land use as they apply to the aerial extent of a city.

## 2. Sensitivity Modules

Increasingly, education is turning to a greater realization of the function of emotions in the educational process. Reliable knowledge drawn from history and the social sciences, when taken alone in a curriculum, is not sufficient to capture the hearts and minds of men who are asked to contend against the issues in our half of the twentieth century. The Counter-Culture with its Woodstock nation and communal life styles sounded a tocsin in the revolt against empiricism and the selfless objectivism of so much of social science. Recent writings in Gestalt psychology and theology have portrayed an alternative style which stresses *feeling* and *fantasy* as inquiry and knowing.[13] Teaching strategies based upon these psychological perspectives focus upon *sensitivity* which is defined as *awareness*, including self-awareness, and *empathy*, including an understanding of one's own feelings. In the continual conflict between the Apollonian and the Dionysian, educators opting for sensitivity modules opt for the Dionysian—responding as "whole persons" to others and to "things," not as things but as part of reality toward which one must relate and respond. This responding in our time brings forth the urban poor, the ghetto tenement, the redwood tree, the eagle over the rimrock, and the Louisiana brown pelican on the edge of his estuary. Following are some ideas for students.



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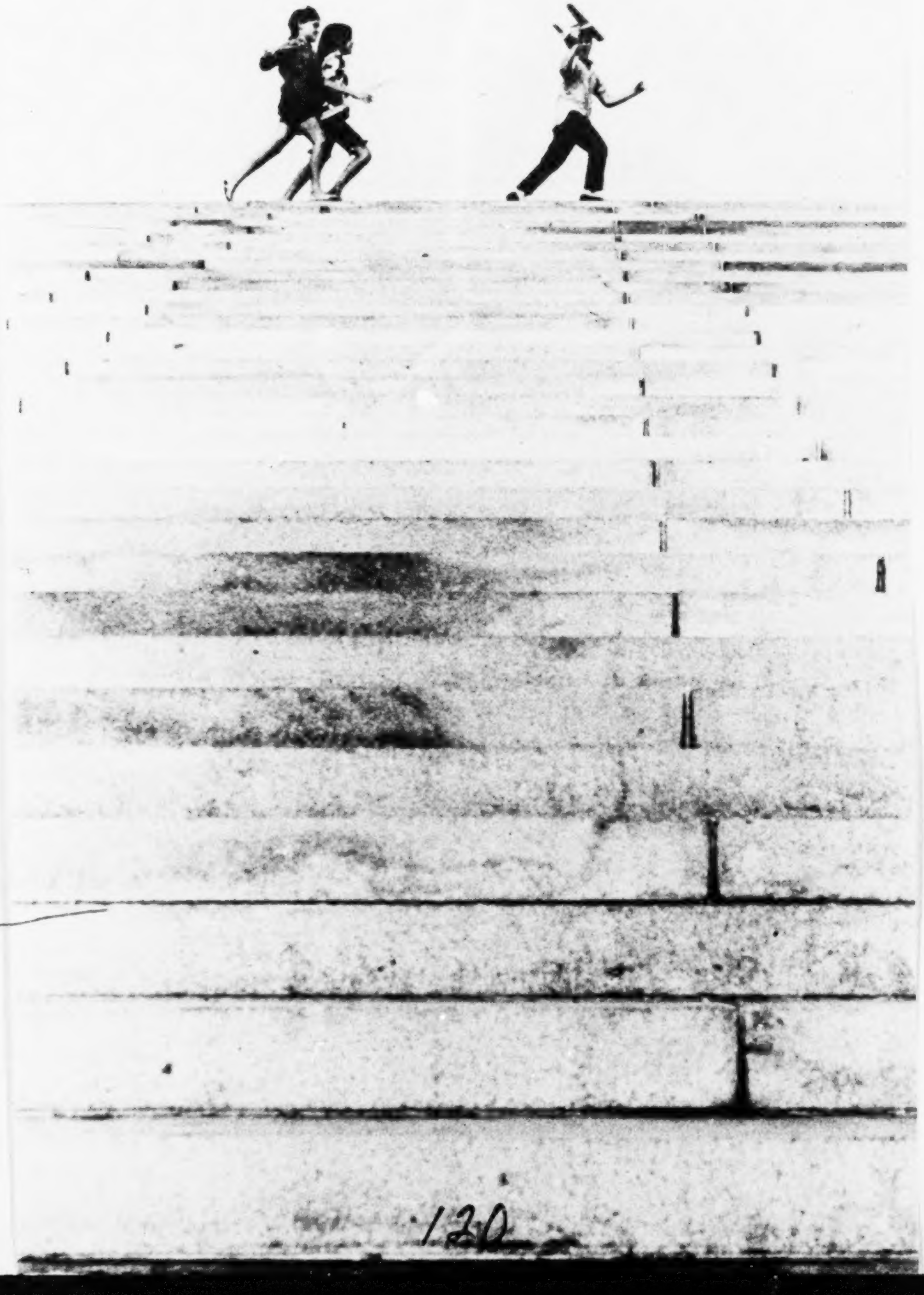
1. With your classmates get a comfortable seat in the classroom, close your eyes, and let your imagination flow (seeing, feeling) through each phrase in the following quotation:

   > And yet we cannot help but wonder why—*why* the belief in man has foundered; *why* it has foundered *now—precisely* now—now at the moment of our greatest intellectual triumphs, our never equaled technological mastery, our electronic miracles. Why was man a wonder to the Greeks—to Sophocles of all the Greeks—when he could do little more than work a ship to windward, ride a horse, and plow the earth, while now that he knows the whole of modern science he is a wonder to no one—certainly not to Sophocles' successors and least of all, in any case, to himself?[14]

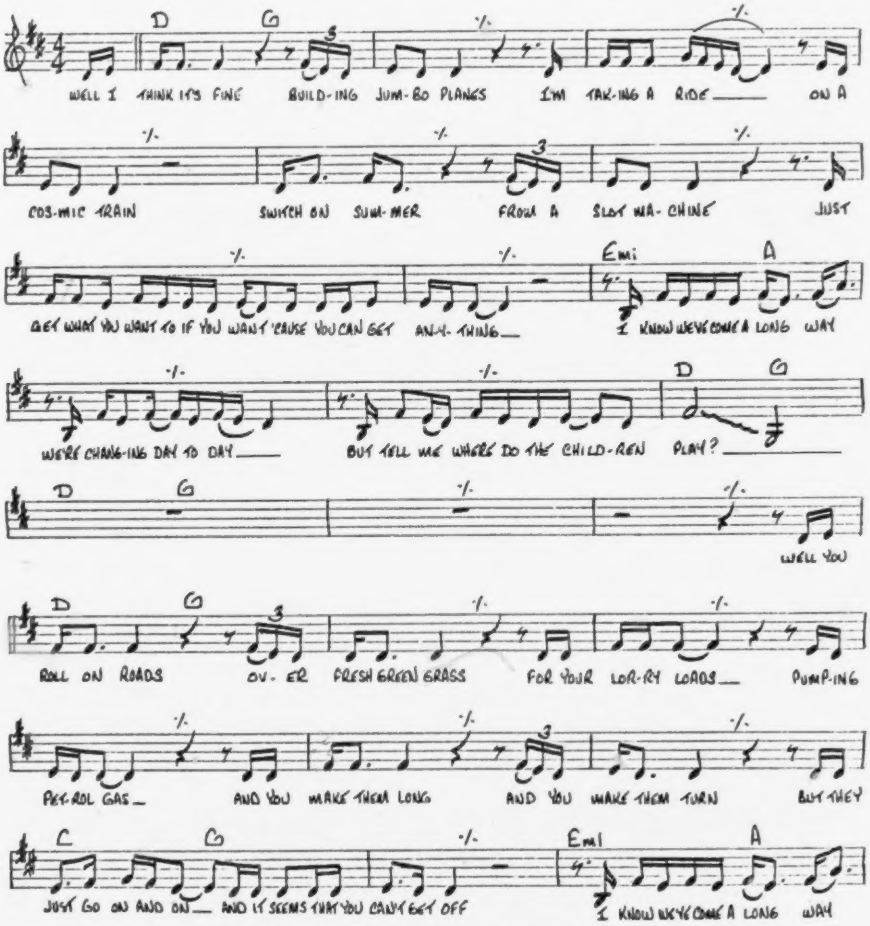
2. In groups of two, try a "trust walk" in a city area. One person has a cane and is blindfolded. The other person leads and assists. Don't talk, let your "guide" do all the talking; just walk and listen. What do you feel as you traverse a shopping center, a downtown street, a ghetto apartment complex?
3. Sit on the floor of your class and put a piece of yarn around you on the floor. How does it feel to live in this little space after 20 minutes? Tomorrow, do the same thing except cover yourself with a sheet. What is life like in such a closed area alone? How do you feel? Think about an animal caged at your local animal shelter. Think about the animals at your city zoo. Think about people crowded in an urban tenement.
4. Think about the time you were walking with friends and found a dead bird. How did it feel? What did you do? Share this experience with the person on your right.
5. Get an Oriental painting of a landscape. Look at it for some time and try to fit into the scene. Where do you fit?
6. Dance out the extinction of the Louisiana brown pelican.
7. Sit in the accident-emergency room of an urban hospital one evening. Look and listen.
8. Attend a black or Spanish-speaking area church service.
9. Visit a Salvation Army Center. Talk with some people.
10. Tutor some urban black first graders on Saturday morning for a while; then visit their classroom.
11. Read several issues of *Muhammad Speaks* or another minority newspaper.
12. Go buy some groceries at a little rural store or a ghetto market. Check the prices against those in suburban supermarkets.
13. Create a new dance to celebrate the birth of a new eagle, or the growth of fresh moss.



14. Close your eyes, think about your experiences in the city, or your images of city life, and listen to the record: "Where Do the Children Play?"[15] Then think about the city. What hath man wrought?

## WHERE DO THE CHILDREN PLAY?

CAT STEVENS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WELL I THINK IT'S FINE BUILD-ING JUM-BO PLANES I'M TAK-ING A RIDE ON A
COS-MIC TRAIN SWITCH ON SUM-MER FROM A SLOT MA-CHINE JUST
Emi
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GET WHAT YOU WANT TO IF YOU WANT 'CAUSE YOU CAN GET AN-Y-THING I KNOW WE'VE COME A LONG WAY
WE'RE CHANG-ING DAY TO DAY BUT TELL ME WHERE DO THE CHILD-REN PLAY?
WELL YOU
ROLL ON ROADS OV-ER FRESH GREEN GRASS FOR YOUR LOR-RY LOADS PUMP-ING
PET-ROL GAS AND YOU MAKE THEM LONG AND YOU MAKE THEM TURN BUT THEY
C
JUST GO ON AND ON AND IT SEEMS THAT YOU CAN'T GET OFF I KNOW WE'VE COME A LONG WAY

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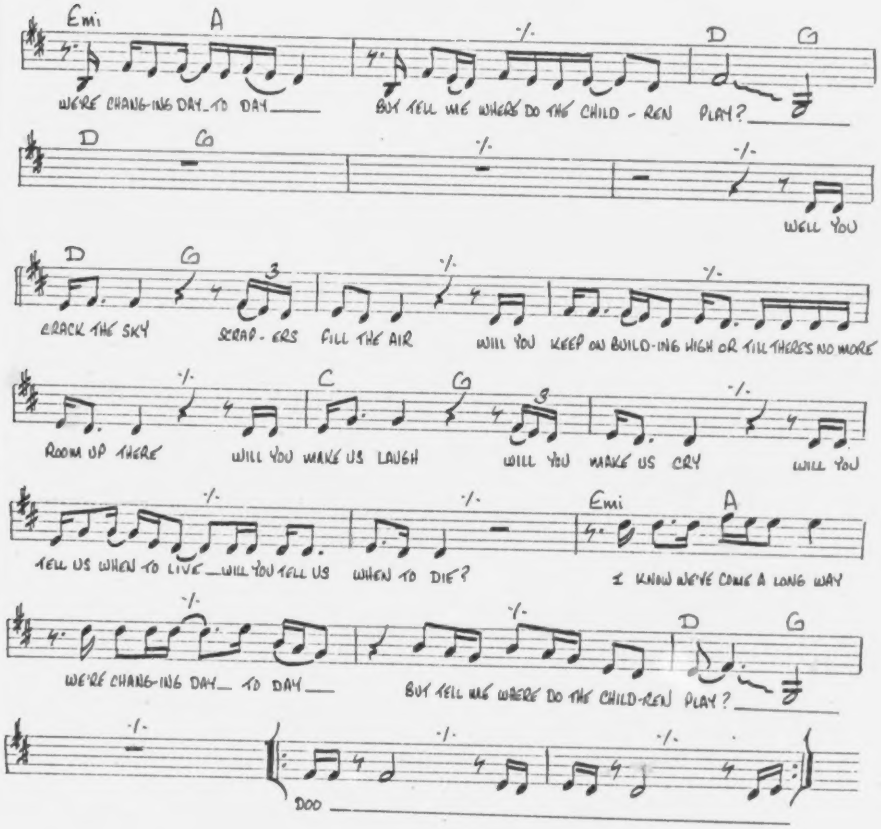
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3
CRACK THE SKY
SCRAP - ERS FILL THE AIR
WILL YOU KEEP ON BUILD-ING HIGH OR TILL THERE'S NO MORE
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G
3
ROOM UP THERE
WILL YOU MAKE US LAUGH
WILL YOU MAKE US CRY
WILL YOU
Emi
A
TELL US WHEN TO LIVE_ WILL YOU TELL US WHEN TO DIE?
I KNOW WE'VE COME A LONG WAY
D
G
WE'RE CHANG-ING DAY__ TO DAY___
BUT TELL ME WHERE DO THE CHILD-REN PLAY?______
DOO ______

15. With three classmates, read the following quotation. Before your class act out a discussion among four "white men" trying to figure out what this Indian woman meant by her words. Then, get four classmates to take the role of Indians mulling over the white man's behavior on the land. Stress feelings and actions in your role-playing, not mere words.

> The white people never cared for the land or deer or bear. When we Indians kill meat, we eat it all up. When we dig roots, we make little holes . . . We shake down acorns and pinenuts. We don't chop down the trees. We only use dead wood. But the white people plow up the ground, pull up the trees, kill everything. The tree says, "Don't. I am sore. Don't hurt me." But they chop it down and cut

> it up. The spirit of the land hates the white man. . . . How can the spirit of the earth like the white man? . . . Everywhere the white man has touched, it is sore."[16]

16. Interview a sheriff about arrests for drunkenness—who? when?—and repossessions—what? who? when?
17. Go to Goodwill Industries and see what happens to contributed items.
18. Tape-record the sounds of city life. Back in your room, listen to the tape. What do you experience?
19. With classmates collect some items. Examine them carefully. Can you feel, say, the steel*ness* of steel? the mudd*iness* of mud? the red*ness* of a rose? the dirt*iness* of dirt?
20. Stretch out on the floor and get comfortable. Close your eyes and dream about a butterfly. Imagine that you are that butterfly in a fantasy . . . then, sometime later, think about yourself. Were you yourself thinking about the butterfly, or are you the butterfly thinking about you?
21. Go to the distribution center and unobtrusively observe persons in line for commodities. How do they "look"? How do you *feel?*
22. Visit the local juvenile court and watch it in operation. Notice anything significant? What?
23. A value sheet is essentially a stimulus article and a brief set of questions to encourage class discussion or individual reflection. The popular song *Jesus Christ Superstar,*[17] from the rock opera by Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice, is an appropriate song for such a value sheet, as the song raises questions about the intent of Christ. Many critics seem to think that *Jesus Christ Superstar* speaks of the philosophy and theology of the 1970's. If the record or tape is available, students might listen to the song and then discuss the following questions:

1. What do you think the words of the song *Superstar* are saying?
2. Do you think the words to *Superstar* speak of the feelings of today's youth in regard to religion? Why? Why not?
3. What do you personally think religion is or should be? Explain.

Additional value sheets may be developed using the words to other popular songs. Music is such an important part of students' lives, and so many songs are tailor-made for getting involvement in humanistic themes and issues, that more of today's music should find its way into the classroom as an integral part of instruction. The same points can be made for today's poetry. Three pieces are reprinted for your consideration as *springboards* and *value sheets.*

## ELEANOR RIGBY[18]

Ah, look at all the lonely people!
Ah, look at all the lonely people!
Eleanor Rigby, picks up the rice in the church
where a wedding has been,
lives in a dream.
Waits at the window, wearing the face
that she keeps in a jar by the door,
who is it for?
All the lonely people,
where do they all come from?
All the lonely people,
where do they all belong?
Father McKenzie, writing the words of a
sermon that no one will hear,
no one comes near.
Look at him working, darning his socks in the
night when there's nobody there,
what does he care?
All the lonely people,
where do they all come from?
All the lonely people,
where do they all belong?
Ah, look at all the lonely people!
Ah, look at all the lonely people!
Eleanor Rigby, died in the church and was
buried along with her name,
nobody came.
Father McKenzie, wiping the dirt from his
hands as he walks from the grave,
no one was saved.
All the lonely people,
where do they all come from?
All the lonely people, where do they all belong?

## MORNING MEDITATION OF THE FIRST DAY[19]

Who am I in this great big rut? What I want is freedom.

I'm sick of this same-old-jazz and the laughs that don't make me laugh any more. I'm tired of doing it because I'm supposed to do it and anyway what else is there to do? I'm fed up with the rat-maze and this deep, deep rut in my life.

I need freedom. I need freedom so I can find out who I am and who these people are I'm swinging with. . . . I mean who we really are, underneath the masks we wear and the roles we play. And I need freedom to discover the purpose and meaning and even if it's where we should be heading.

I need freedom to be me - - - - so I'm not just a figment of somebody else's imagination or a neat label on somebody's neatly ordered shelf, but an actual person who cares and is cared for. I want to be involved in life, not just an onlooker. I don't want to watch this ball game; I want to play in it, hard and all the way.

I want to get close to life, feel it and smell it, sweat over it, and maybe even pick my spot to die.

When I see a guy in a jam, or just needing somebody's help, I want to be able to leap in, man, and not stand back and look indifferent while he's looking anything but indifferent because he's crying murder or shouting for justice.

I want to be free. Free to laugh, to cry. Free to die, to live. Free to be responsible, and care, and dig in. Freedom.

## NONE OF MY BUSINESS*

Little kids sleepin' with rats in the bed —
But it's none of my business;
It's been a long time since they've been fed —
But it's none of my business.
Some more bad news from Vietnam,
And China's playin' with a great big bomb,
I better take a pill to stay calm —
'Cause it's none of my business.

People are afraid to walk their own streets —
But it's none of my business.

Cops can't even walk on their beat —
But it's none of my business.
I read about a girl — I forgot her name —
She was screaming for help, but nobody came;
It seems like kind of a shame —
But it's none of my business.

Ten more billion on the national debt —
Well, it's none of my business.
People in the slums are a little upset —
That's none of my business.
Kids droppin' out of school, lookin' for a thrill,
Learnin' the law, kill or be killed,
I better take another pill —
Cause it's none of my business.

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Now the preacher's sayin' somethin' about gettin' involved —
Well, it's none of my business.
He said we've got troubles that we gotta have solved —
But it's none of my business.
Now I go to Church, and I meditate;
I don't even mind when they pass the plate;
But this stuff about my fellow man's fate —
Well, it's none of my business.

This stuff about my fellow man's fate —
Lord, it's none of my business.

24. Take students to a national forest, park, or "scenic" area for a day where they must communicate non-verbally about their experiences. Encourage group activity within these non-verbal constraints.
25. Watch one of the following films: *The Yearling* (Gregory Peck and Jane Wyman); *Sometimes a Great Notion* (Henry Fonda, Paul Newman, Lee Remick); *The Mountain* (Spencer Tracy and Robert Wagner); *The Sea of Grass* (Spencer Tracy and Katherine Hepburn); *The Wild River* (Montgomery Clift and Lee Remick). How do you *feel* about the action of the characters toward nature? Share your feelings with others.
26. Think about what it would be like to be a fireman in the inner city. With two classmates, role-play a discussion among three firemen who have just returned from another false alarm.
27. Measure out one-half mile alongside a roadway near school. Hike this route and collect all of the trash. (1) Identify the different types of trash collected. How many types did you find? (2) Weigh the trash. Then compute the miles of roadways in the community. Assuming that they have equal amounts of trash, what is the total amount of trash alongside your community's roads?
28. Read about or observe one of the following animals: alligator, sea turtle, deer, gopher, sea gull. Score a dance for one or more of these animals. Perform it with your classmates. Then, read about urban rats. Dance out how they might *feel!*
29. Listen to the recording of *West Side Story,* especially "Somewhere." What are the different feelings about city life expressed in this musical? How many of these emotions are ones which you have frequently?
30. Some say that the Statue of Liberty is beckoning Europe's poor and weary. Some say that the Empire State Building is a symbol of American progress. Recently, some say that the New York Trade Center is Wall Street's way of showing thumb's down on Harlem. If you were in Harlem, how would you feel?

31. When your local newspaper reports a victory—large or small—over pollution and the despoliation of nature, write a play or perform a dance to celebrate this victory.
32. The following poem expresses perceptions of environment. With several classmates take sections of this work and present soliloquies to the class on each section (i.e., how it feels to look at nature and see an ecosystem or see beauty).

Some men look at the natural environment and see particulars—
They have the trained eye of the natural scientist;

Some men look and see beauty—
They have the eye of the poet, the artist, the architect, or
the child;

Some men look and see an ecological system, while others see *His*
system—

They have the perception of a Thoreau, an Emerson, a Thomas Merton,
an Aldo Leopold, a John Muir, a St. Francis;

Some men marvel at beauty, others reflect upon life and its meaning—
Their life and others' lives;

Some men see social problems and impending doom—
Unless we take swift and certain action . . .
Unless we apply great capital and bold technology . . .
Unless we gain wisdom, not knowledge, and leave it all alone. . . .

Some men look and see nothing except economic resources to exploit—
An Abrahamic ethic that dominions over nature and manipulates
for multiplication.

These men, with Ronald Reagan, see one Redwood tree.
They ask what is diminished if the Louisiana brown pelican is
no more;

If rivers catch on fire and brooks bubble with yesterday's
detergent.

They fail to weigh questions of ultimate destiny, or even of
their own extinction.

There just is too little time for ultimate questions; there's
money to be made—

Nose to the grindstone, never hear the birds sing. After all,
Progress is our most important product.[20]

33. Sit silently and look closely at a flower for five minutes. What did you feel when you examined it? Describe how you felt.
Now, think that you are a bee and look at that flower. After a few minutes, think about your experience. Was it different than before?

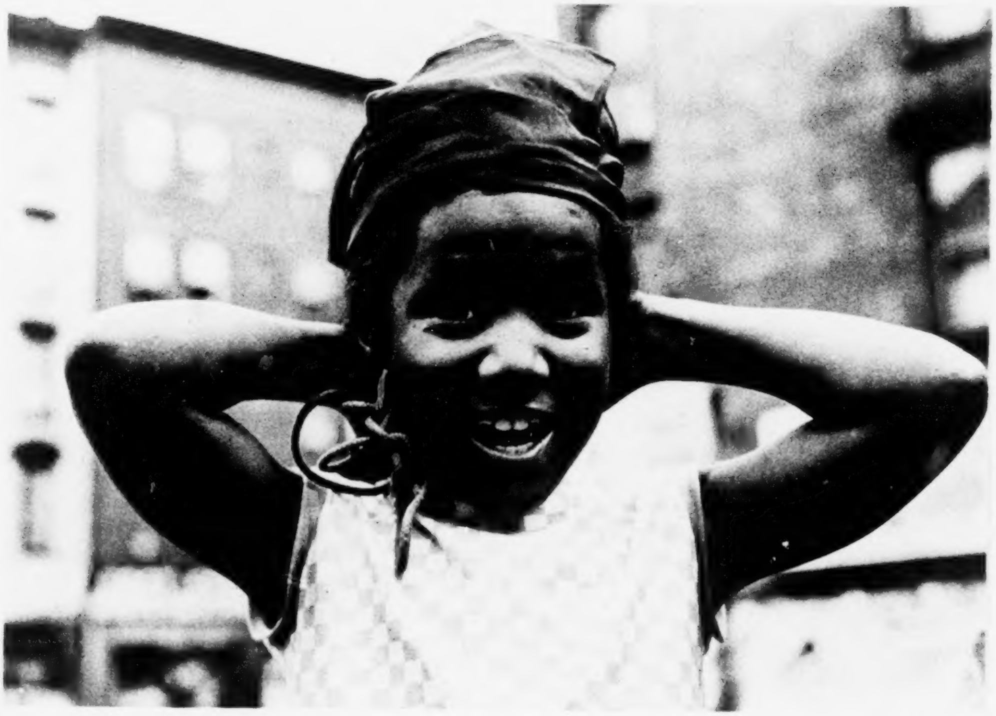
Now, think that you are a florist. Look again upon the flower. After a few minutes, describe how you felt. Was it different than before? Which of the three feelings was most satisfying for you? Do you know why?

34. Ride a city transit bus through the local ghetto. Notice your companions and where they get off to shop or work.

## 3. Creativity Modules

Creativity involves the production of something new—new for the creator be it a product or performance. The following modules are suggestions for the teacher's own creativity. They are external stimuli whose worth is in provoking students to experience by manipulating objects and ideas, ranging beyond ratiocinative (symbolic-verbal) representations of reality to imagery (iconic) and deed (enactive) as modes of representing and coping with reality. Some modules are simple requests, some tasks, some problems. Some request an individual or group performance—a dance, a play, or a reality, but more frequently they involve fantasy and imagery. Some are serious; many are playful. Hopefully all are meaningful to students and will contribute to their education in a fresh, satisfying way.

1. Select a community problem. Sit down with six friends and think of as many ways to solve this problem as you can in one-half hour. Get seven "fresh" friends and ask them to sit individually for one-half hour. Did the group or the seven individuals come up with the most viable solutions? The group may "win," but you stand to lose thirteen friends!
2. This is a dollar that I am putting into your hand. With three friends, think of as many uses as you can for this dollar bill—uses that will help others.
3. A "me" chart is simply a collage of pictures clipped from magazines and other sources which you make and should represent how you see yourself. Rush out and gather up some magazines and do a "me" chart entitled *"your name."* OK, have some fun. Do a "me" chart for Mayor Daley of Chicago—he's too busy right now to do his own! In case you don't want to do Mayor Daley's—select another person.



4. See this picture of a child? Do a "me" chart for her.
5. Draw a picture of Uncle Sam as Archie Bunker would be likely to see him today. If you have extra time, do a sketch of Uncle Sam as President Richard Nixon might see him.
6. Paint a picture entitled "Non-violence."
7. Act out a fantasy entitled "Joy" or "New Year 197-."
8. Make different collages entitled "USA" to demonstrate diversity in the nation regarding the following aspects: (a) political persuasion, (b) ethnic background, (c) economic conditions, (d) opinion on a controversial issue.
9. Read a copy of the Declaration of Independence. Place yourself in the role of a black militant who has decided that the United States will never provide full citizenship for its black members. You are part of a revolutionary group which has decided to set up an independent black nation in a few Southern states. If you were charged with writing the Declaration of Independence for this group, how closely would the document you produce resemble the American Declaration? Either write up a few sections of the document you would prepare, or write a report describing similarities and differences between the two documents.
10. You are the executive director of the Chamber of Commerce, Selma, Alabama, in 1968. Design a full-page ad for the *New York*

*Times* or *Wall Street Journal*. Your objective is to improve the image of the city in order to attract new investment, especially industry.

11. Define "liberation" as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., would have defined it in relation to the following pictures: (1) a black man chopping cotton; (2) a female's lipstick ad; (3) students attending a lecture; and (4) an office worker using a calculator.
12. Study the patterns of meaning and rhythm of the little sections "Black is . . . ," and "Misery is . . . ," in your readings. See if you can create your own series of "_______ is. . . ." You might try "Being a student is . . . ," or "Being a teen-ager is . . . ," or "Being the oldest of three children is. . . .".
13. A song that was quite popular not too long ago, called "Society's Child," was written and performed by a then fifteen-year-old girl, Janis Ian. It concerns a young white girl's lament when her mother forbids her dating a young black friend. Using sections of this song, and others like it (of the same theme, a moral crisis for a young person), make a cassette "sound collage" with an appropriate title. (See page 146 for lyrics to "Society's Child.")
14. Using a tape recorder or video-tape recorder, make a one-minute radio or TV "spot announcement (commercial)" urging people to: smile, support a job opportunity program, vote for mass transit programs, support the development of a people's park.
15. What are the meanings of the following songs regarding the concept of non-violence? "My Way," "The Age of Aquarius," "He Ain't Heavy, He's My Brother." "What the World Needs Now," "Everybody's Talking at Me," "Revolution," and "All Things Must Pass." Write an interpretative essay on one song.
16. While slavery of the flesh is a dead issue in the United States today, certain dependencies are not. Often we hear the comment that a person is a slave to drugs, to his social position, or to some portion of the technology with which this country must deal. Using these ideas, or one of your own, construct a collage entitled, "Slavery, American Style, 1972."
17. At Dr. Martin Luther King's funeral, several people offered eulogies (tributes) to his life and work. If you were giving the eulogy what things would you have said? Why?
18. Form a team with several of your classmates and write a playlet about the trial of Angela Davis. Select someone to play the roles of judges in the trial and perform the playlet for your class. Have each judge explain how he arrived at the judgment he makes, and discuss means which persuaded him to his position, or means that

might have been used in the playlet that would have caused his position to change.

19. Write a short poem on "The Perfect City."
20. Design a collage which you might entitle one of the following: "Black Rage," "The Concerns of Dr. King," "The Way I See Martin Luther King," "The History of the Civil Rights Movement," or, better, think of your own title!
21. Old adages, or pieces of folk wisdom, are sayings that people are fond of quoting to one another. One such adage is: "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Dr. King changed this, in one of his speeches, to read "An eye for an eye leaves everybody blind." Harry Emerson Fosdick, another minister of note, took another of these old favorites, "Never trust a stranger," and added a line to it so that it read, "Never trust a stranger, and you'll never make a new friend." Jot down some of the old standards that you have heard, and see what kinds of adaptations you can come up with. Remember, "The early bird catches the early worm, so if you want to be safe, don't be an early worm."
22. Construct a "perfect day" in the life of Martin Luther King. What features would it have? What would it be like? What would happen?
23. Write a short essay expressing your feelings as to the following questions: (1) What events do you celebrate in your life? Why? (2) Why are joy, celebration, and enthusiasm a community thing rather than an experience in isolation? You may illustrate your essay if you like.
24. Illustrate the following:[21]

> For you shall go out in joy,
>     and be led forth in peace;
> the mountains and the hills before you
>     shall break forth into singing,
> and all the trees of the field
>     shall clap their hands.
> Instead of the thorn
>     shall come up the cypress;
> instead of the brier
>     shall come up the myrtle;
> and it shall be to the Lord for a memorial,
>     for an everlasting sign
> which shall not be cut off.
>
> Isaiah 55: 12-13 (Revised Standard Version)

25. Make a short film clip or a set of slides of people engaged in activities expressing joy *or* people involved in celebration of some kind.

26. Read this short poem and react to it. Is it perhaps advocating a spirit of joy and festivity?

I am having a ball, Jesus
This is a good day for me.
Yesterday I was down,
but today I'm up again.
These people
I'm with
are the greatest.
The sun
has really come out
for me.
I see everything
in bright reds and yellows,
I hated the dark reds
and the crying blues yesterday.
I was mean, Lord,
and vicious,
and I can hardly understand
how anybody
put up with me.
But they didn't beat me down.
They let me know
what it is to be human
because *they* stayed human.
Now I'm human again.
I feel good,
and I want to get out
with the people
and swing with them, Jesus.
There's somebody
I was mean to yesterday.
I want to knock myself out
to be nice to him today.
Honestly, Lord,
thank you.[22]

## 4. Social Participation-Skill Modules

Probably the most idealized and sought-after goal in the social studies curriculum is that of social participation and the skills of performance in group situations. Aristotle said that "Man is a social animal" and legions of social studies teachers have persevered to prove him right.

Education for a democratic, pluralistic society has such skills as its goal, and the following modules suggest both task-oriented and performance-oriented group situations for social studies classes. Some modules ask the student to lead a group activity, while his classmates are responders or play the devil's advocate. Other modules call for participants to proceed as equals as they voice judgments, argue to support positions, or test hypotheses. While many of the modules in this chapter stress social participation situations, the modules listed below are added in a special section to underscore the importance of such activities in the social studies.[23]

1. Lead a group discussion on the subject, "What makes life worth living is . . ." Would all Americans agree on your positions? Why or why not? What areas in your discussion seem to be the most controversial? Why?
2. Pretend that five students in your class represent the selection committee for the Nobel Peace Prize. Ask that each of your classmates present two or three minutes of testimony as to whether or not Dr. Martin Luther King should receive the Nobel Peace Prize. Have the committee reach a decision, and explain why they decided as they did. For variety, arrange with some parents or teachers, or other members of the school staff, to serve as judges.
3. Pretend there is a policy regulating students at your particular school with which everyone in your class disagrees. Resolve yourselves into a "students' rights group" and outline a strategy for getting the policy changed. It is a game, but see if you can approach it with a serious attitude.
4. Make a set of picture cards (magazine photos pasted on 3 x 5 or 4 x 8 index cards) of acts of violence. Run an open discussion with some of your fellow-students to see what their initial reaction to, and considered reaction to, each of the pictures will be.
5. Much has been said about the existence of a generation gap in the last few years. Find four or five adults who agree that this gap exists and who further feel that the gap exists because of different value systems between generations. See if they will agree on what values held by either group need to be modified in order to close or moderate the effects of the gap. Ask them to make a presentation to your class and arrange for a group of your classmates to act as "devil's advocates" during the discussion. Do not tell the adults that you have done this.
6. Arrange and moderate a panel discussion with a lawyer, a clergyman, a policeman, a judge, and an elected official (add anyone

else you think would give a different dimension to the group). Consider one, some, or all of the following topics:

a. Morals, Values, and the Law
b. The Law as a Regulator of Public Views
c. Personal Values I Have Which I Feel Should Be Laws
d. Laws Must Change with Changing Values

7. Most families have rules about the books that kids are allowed to read, movies that kids are allowed to see, individuals whom kids can date, etc. One might look at this in at least two ways: (a) the parents force their values on children, or (b) parents attempt to inculcate, in their children, the values which they have found, by experience, that serve them well. Parents' wishes in our society have the force of law, and this little example might therefore be thought of as a rather personal version of the issue presented in the final section of the biography. Have your parents join you in a discussion of such things as: motives for their actions, how they arrived at the standards they set for you, how they decided on the "gray" issues, how they may question themselves as to whether or not they make mistakes, how they "recover" themselves when they have made a mistake in judgment, etc.
8. Read the words of "Patterns" by Paul Simon (and listen to the record, if available). Then, let several persons express their interpretations of the meaning of this piece in terms of their lives, especially the notion of patterns "I must follow."[24]
9. With your classmates talk about knowing, using as a basis for discussion these words by T. S. Eliot:

> Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
> Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?

10. With your parents, teacher, and/or classmates, visit a folk mass or innovative religious service in your community. Talk to those who accompany you about the significance of what you saw. Then, report to your teacher or classmates.
11. Lost in Space[25]

You are a member of a space crew in 1980 that, while on a trip to the moon, crash-landed some fifty miles from the nearest moon base. In order to survive until you and the crew can reach base, you must take certain items with you on a fifty-mile trek. The weight of these is a factor, for despite the moon's gravitation each member of the crew can only carry so much. The computer on board the damaged spaceship indicates that you and the crew have only fifteen minutes to decide upon the priorities to take with

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you on the trip to base. Time is very precious. The following items are the only undamaged resources in the spacecraft. Order these items by their importance to you, numbering them from one for the highest priority to eighteen for the lowest item. Do this individually, now.

___radio (receiving messages from base, but not able to transmit)
___magnetic compass
___camera
___maps of moon surface
___flashlight
___seven air canisters
___ten water canisters
___six heavy ropes
___four food sacks
___matches
___ten signal flares
___portable heating unit
___two rifles and a box of ammo
___first-aid kit
___temperature control suits
___intergroup communication radios
___American flags
___three volumes of Richard M. Nixon's autobiography

Now ask your teacher to divide the class into random small groups (six or fewer in a group) for consensus decision-making. Remember you have only the time remaining in the original fifteen minutes to decide upon a mutually agreeable list of priority items. Each person in the group *must* agree to the priority ranking in your group list. Select a discussion leader and get going! Your leader must report the results at the end of the fifteen-minute time period.

At the end of this time period, the teacher calls for the leaders of each group to assemble at the front of the room in a circle:

X
X
six group leaders X "X" = "Guest Chair" for others
X who wish to add remarks
X X

Leaders report on the group priority lists quickly; then, the discussion turns to the problems of getting group agreement on the lists. The teacher should probe for explanations for the problems which arose in consensus decision-making. Why would people not agree, or why would some simply go along? Members of the class may also participate by going to the "Guest Chair"—one at a time.

12. With several classmates go to the library and search out the root and several definitions for the word "celebrate." Then, with these classmates attend a variety of religious services in the inner city. Report to the class on what these services had to do with "celebration."

## 5. Valuing Modules

Programs that taught values and were directed toward moral education which relied upon persistent exhortations and prescriptions by textbooks and materials have not been successful. Inculcating moral values as noun-names for values and as fixed conventional traits taught students the expected verbal responses, but their responses most often did not reveal commitment or predict moral behavior. There is no evidence which indicates that being able to recall the noun-names for values in response to teacher questions is translated into appropriate behavior. Honesty, fairness, integrity, truth, generosity, and justice are all noun-names for values. If knowledge about right produced a tendency to do right, moral education would be an easy task. But unquestioned and untested moral precepts, idealized beyond what students know as reality, too often promote student "role playing," apathy, and cynicism.

Rollo May recognized the deficiency in simply teaching ethical codes and values without the motive feelings and reasoning abilities which promote moral behavior. He reminded all men that

> The triumph of barbarism in such movements as Hitlerism did not occur because people "forgot" the ethical traditions of our society as one might misplace a code. The humanistic values of liberty and the greatest good for the greatest number, the Hebrew-Christian values of community and love for the stranger were still in the textbooks, and were still taught in Sunday School, and no archeological expedition was needed to unearth them.[26]

People become intelligent about values as they become intelligent about the conditions upon which they depend and about the consequences to which they lead. In the abstract, men may subscribe to the noun-names for values, verbalize them, and celebrate them. But it is in specific contexts, where decisions must be made and basic values conflict, that the values achieve personal reality.

In order to sensitize students to the problems faced by ghetto residents and to clarify the students' values, a variety of case studies can be presented. After the cases are read and discussed, the teacher can pose a key question (or have students raise questions), applying the Rath's valuing process.[27] This process directly involves students in making evaluative and prescriptive judgments:

1. *Choosing freely.* Values, if they are to be prized by the individual, must be freely selected.
2. *Choosing from among alternatives.* A value can only result from situations in which more than one alternative is possible.
3. *Choosing after thoughtful consideration of the consequences of each alternative.* Only after consequences have been carefully examined can a value be held intelligently.
4. *Prizing and cherishing.* Values are those choices that we are proud to hold, those that have a positive valence in our philosophy of life.
5. *Affirming.* Values that have been chosen thoughtfully and freely are ones that the individual will admit publicly.
6. *Acting upon choices.* For a value to be present it must affect one's life —the books he reads, the friends he makes, the organizations he joins, how he spends his time. Affirming, then, is only part of the process. Talking about something and not doing anything about it reveals a lack of value.
7. *Repeating.* A value is likely to reappear in different situations at different times. Something that appears only once in an individual's behavior is not a value.

With this process in mind, consider the classroom application of the following cases—some with elementary students and others with secondary school students:

### Case #1

Life was hard on a 13-year-old girl growing up in the inner city. Annie sat in one of the two rooms of the flat where she lived, which served as kitchen, dining room, and living room. The rickety chair groaned as Annie bent over holding her stomach which ached for food. The persistent crying of her twin brothers brought Annie back to reality. She knew they weren't crying because they wanted to get out of bed or because they wanted to go out to play and couldn't. It was because, like her, they were hungry, so hungry. What could she do?

Annie had carefully prepared the last two eggs for lunch the day before, dividing equally among the twins and herself. She had eaten each bit slowly and carefully, making sure nothing was left on her plate. The twins had eaten greedily and even asked for more, crying louder than ever when Annie told them there was nothing left in the house to eat. That night, all three had gone to bed hungry.

This wasn't the first time they had had to do this. Annie's mother had gone away from home before, but always after a few nights she had come back. Annie would always have to beg her mother for a portion of the money she had gotten while she was away, so that Annie could buy food and other things she and the twins need. Annie knew that if she wasn't there when her mother first got home, and asked for the money then, Annie would not get any. Her mother would spend it all on liquor and then leave again.

Her mother had never stayed away this long before. Maybe something happened, but Annie couldn't think about this—her stomach would not let her. Annie tried to think. How many days had it been? Five, six, she had lost track.

The gnawing pain would not let up and Annie knew she must do something quick. She had heard the other kids in the neighborhood bragging about going into Mr. Brady's Grocery store and taking candy and not getting caught. It was fun for them and it was a challenge. If the kids had been successful they were praised and accepted by the group as leaders. Could Annie get away with maybe taking something from the store without getting caught? The kids had made it sound so easy. Just act casual, like you are browsing, they had said.

Gathering up the last of her strength, Annie called to the twins. "Boys, I'm going to the store. When I get back, we can have some supper." The twins were silent for a short moment, then tear-stained faces appeared before her, eyes wide. "Oh, hurry Annie. We're so hungry." Both ran and plopped themselves down at the table.

There was no turning back now, the boys were counting on supper. She could not let these hungry children down and her stomach was crying for food, too.

Walking to the store, she kept telling herself to be calm, act casual. She knew the store by heart, because she had been in there hundreds of times before. Over her shoulder she carried one of her mother's old pocketbooks. It was empty now, so there was plenty of room to put things in.

Suddenly, she realized she was standing in the doorway of the store. A flash of fear and guilt went through her. She had never stolen before, but how could she face going back to her brothers, telling them there would be nothing to eat, watching the hopeful eyes turn to despair and tears. She took a deep breath and pushed open the door.

Oh, thank God! There were customers in the store. Since Mr. Brady ran the store by himself, he would be busy checking out their items. Annie walked in quickly, hoping Mr. Brady would be too busy to notice her slip in. Walking behind one of the shelves, she turned to look at him. No, he hadn't seen her. He was busy at the front ringing up a sale. Annie was on the row that contained canned goods. Opening up the shoulder bag, she picked up two cans of soup and dropped them in. Two cans of soup had never felt so heavy.

On the shelves opposite the canned goods were the cookies. It had been so long since she had tasted something sweet. Wouldn't the boys be excited if they could eat these! She glanced up and down the aisle. All clear! Picking up the bag of cookies, she placed them hurriedly in the shoulder bag.

There was still plently of room left in the bag, so she walked down the next aisle, hoping no one would be browsing there either. What luck. This was easier than she had ever dreamed. There in the open refrigerator case were the eggs. She carefully placed a carton in the bag which was now very heavy. As she turned to walk down the aisle to leave the store she saw, standing just five feet from her, Mr. Brady. Her heart sunk to that bottomless pit of her empty stomach. He stood very still, hands folded across his chest, eyes stern and reprimanding. She had been caught![28]

Should Annie be punished for trying to obtain food for the twins, and, if so, how and by whom?

**Case #2**

Mr. Girard, a millionaire merchant, left a large sum of money in his estate to found a college for poor white boys. Under the terms of his will, poor white boys were selected for admission to the college and all of their expenses were paid—tuition, housing, books, and clothing allowance. Of course, the terms of the will excluded persons other than poor white boys from admission.

Was this just? Why? What if he had founded a college for poor white girls? for poor white children? for poor black children? for poor children? for wealthy children? for children of Polish ancestry? What if his will had created, instead of a college, a loan association? social club? country club? library? orphanage? hospital? scholarship fund?

**Case #3**

Imagine that in one of your school classes the teacher calls upon black children less than the whites and, when she does, she seems to be critical rather than helpful. Punishment for fooling around and for failure to come to class prepared seems to result in severe treatment for blacks and less harsh treatment for whites. Several of your friends have noticed this too.

What should you do?

**Case #4**

Suppose that a company for which you work obviously discriminates against blacks—they are the last hired (in the lowest paying jobs) and the first fired. You have noticed this and several of your friends have also noticed it.

What should you do?

**Case #5**

Imagine that you are an adult citizen of this country and you become aware that a well-known, national store chain discriminates against the employment of blacks. Even in black neighborhoods, the firm fails to employ able candidates—in fact, any black—in a job other than that of janitor.

What should you do?

**Case #6**

Mr. Jones has just bought an apartment building in the downtown area. It is Mr. Jones' contention that being the owner of the property and building entitles him, under the Constitution, to do as he wishes with his possessions.

The Garcia family's lease has just expired and they desire to renew it. Mr. Jones, however, informs them that they cannot and must leave by the first of the month. The Garcias cannot understand why, since they have always been good tenants by paying their rent on time, keeping up their apartment, and never making demands on the previous owner. Mr. Jones bluntly tells them that he could not care less. "It's my property and I don't want any 'spics' living on it!"

The Garcias are insulted, but still realize that they not only cannot afford to move, but also that there are no other apartments in the vicinity of Mr. Garcia's place of employment. Mr. Garcia, therefore, appeals to the American Civil Liberties Union which provides him with a lawyer. When Mr. Jones presents the Garcias with eviction papers, the Garcias decide to take their case to court to try and protect their rights.

If you were the Judge and this case was brought before you, how would you rule and why?[29]

**Case #7**

Manuel is a dishwasher in [the Main Street Restaurant]. He entered the country illegally, but [the restaurant] has given him a job. Manuel works for substandard wages, and he has asked for a raise, but his boss says that he is doing Manuel a favor by not reporting him to the authorities, and hence will not give him a raise.

Is the Main Street Restaurant doing Manuel a favor? What should Manuel do?[30]

**Case #8**

Allie Washington purchased a TV set for $500; this TV normally sells for $300. Allie signed a contract stipulating that if she missed one payment her TV would be repossessed. Allie has paid $430 so far, but last month she missed a payment and her TV was taken away. Last night the city where Allie lived went up in flames; a full-scale riot had developed. The store where Allie purchased her TV was broken into, and its windows were smashed out. Allie was one of the rioters; she saw her old TV which had been repossessed. Allie felt that it was her TV since she had more than paid what the TV had really cost, so she took it.

Was she justified in taking the set, even though she was discriminated against for being poor?

**Case #9**

[Art Hunt] owns a tenement dwelling in the ghetto area of Cleveland. He charges his tenants just $70 a month to live there. Yet, the dwelling is overcrowded, substandard, and rat infested. Other slum dwellings cost at least 25 dollars a month more, but this does not satisfy the tenants of [Mr. Hunt's] dwelling. They want improvements, and they want them now. [Mr. Hunt] cannot afford the improvements; he says that he undercharges as it is, and that the tenants themselves cause much of the dirt which is in the dwellings. He further states that if the residents kept the place clean there would be no need for the complaints.

What is just in this case?

**Case #10**

An old and distinguished university is expanding its campus to provide increased educational opportunity to young persons. The main project involves building a medical education center on park land next to the campus, land donated by the city. The campus is now in a ghetto area, overcrowded and poor, wherein the park is one of the few open areas for playgrounds. The park land is the only land available for construction, and to clear slum housing would displace people and make the cost of the new center too high for it to be built. The university is proceeding with its construction plans on the park land; the disadvantaged in the ghetto are protesting.

What should be done?

**Case #11**

Tom Martin is a black shoe salesman. He has held a steady job for five years, has received several raises. He has just been told that he is being promoted to assistant manager. This position will bring another substantial pay raise. He and his family (a wife and two small children) have been living in a small two-bedroom apartment in an all-black neighborhood on the fringe of the core area. With his new job and the additional news that his wife is expecting another child, Tom begins to consider the notion that his family needs a bigger house.

What are Tom's alternatives? (Where can he move, or should he stay in the black ghetto?) Students might scan the houses-for-sale section in a local newspaper to identify houses that might look promising to someone like Tom. After actually visiting these places, viewing their exteriors and examining the surrounding neighborhoods, students can more accurately assess the desirability of each situation. To assure realism, the alternatives should include homes in an all-black area, an all-white area, a suburb, and an area that has already been integrated. Students should consider the social conditions (consequences) that the Martins might face in each instance. Finally, the discussion should be focused on the question: What would you do if you were Tom? This valuing process does not lead students to a specific value decision. Rather, it provides an experience in clarifying one's social values. Consider the following statements:

### Values About Urban Life

1. Integration in public education is both necessary and desirable.
2. Welfare programs are necessary.
3. Communities should not be segregated along class lines.
4. More money and better facilities need to be provided to educate the poor.
5. The race problem is a white problem.
6. Community control of schools is necessary.
7. The ghetto should not be dispersed; rather the public should urge government policies that will improve the quality of life in the ghetto.
8. Race is not a factor that determines a person's worth.
9. Eliminating poverty is more important than the space program or foreign aid.
10. Every person above the poverty level should be willing to contribute more in taxes to programs that are aimed to reduce poverty.
11. Violence in the form of riots is justified if people are denied access to power through legitimate channels.
12. Blacks (or any other minority group) must depend on whites to gain equal rights in this society.
13. Bussing is a necessary step in order to realize an integrated society.

*All of the above statements take one side of the issue. It is not intended that this one point of view should control discussions in classrooms. Rather, these are position statements that students should be encouraged to explore openly.*

In order to enhance the understanding children have of welfare, they can plan a food budget for a family receiving Aid to Dependent Children benefits. A small committee might be given the task of going to a local supermarket to determine how much this amount of money would buy.

Still another experience that will help students understand the frustrations of poverty is the Gestalt game *Vocation: Poverty* found in *Toward More Humanistic Instruction* by John A. Zahorik and Dale L. Brubaker.[31] This learning episode involves youngsters in role-playing the parts of a manual laborer and a clerk. Both workers earn money for their labor but the prices of goods in the manual worker's store keep rising, thus making it less worthwhile for him to work. Each player is asked to describe how he felt as he played the role of the worker. The role-playing experience can serve as a springboard for a discussion of the problems of the poor.

In responding to the question of what our society should do about poverty, the Raths' model has suggestions. What are the various ways that a society can deal with poverty? The alternatives would include such possibilities as:

1. Guaranteed annual income for all
2. Programs such as Aid to Dependent Children
3. Food Stamp programs
4. Anti-Poverty programs
    a. Job Corps
    b. Community Action programs
5. More money to schools in poor areas
6. Government-sustained employment
7. Rely on charity organizations
8. Let the poor take care of the problem

Small committees can be formed to study each of the alternatives and to predict the possible *consequences* of each alternative. During their study, arrangements can be made to interview or write letters to persons from charity organizations, welfare departments, community action projects, Job Corps, and/or county administrators of food stamp and welfare programs. As each group presents its report the alternatives and consequences can be recorded on a data retrieval chart.

| Alternatives | Consequences |
|---|---|
| | |

After a thorough discussion of each of the positions presented, each student should be asked to clarify his own position on the poverty issue and to share his judgment with the class.

A study of this kind of issue presents the teacher with an opportunity to arrange a social participation experience. If students have learned about the poverty problem as it exists in their community they may embark on any one of the following social action projects:

1. Write letters to the local newspaper. These letters would be designed to draw attention to the problem and to present solutions.

2. Write to their Congressman, Senators, and to members of the appropriate committees that deal with such issues in Congress.
3. Plan an assembly that will highlight the issue. (Speakers and a debate about the policy might be included. Parents and persons concerned with the problem should be invited.)
4. Put together a newspaper on the issue.

Although these activities will probably not bring about immediate change, they would permit students to thoughtfully examine ways of bringing about change in order to solve social issues. Some learning and simulation games may also assist in helping students understand the plight of persons in poverty.

1. *Ghetto* This simulation game permits the player to identify with various kinds of people who live in the ghetto and to plan out their lives dealing with realistic alternatives that are open to them.
2. *Sunshine* A simulation game that represents race relations in a mythical city. Players are "born" black, white, Oriental, Mexican, etc. They try to influence politics in their community in a way that will support their special interests.[32]

In the foregoing modules, students were asked to decide and justify their decisions. The focus was upon student values, the clarification of those values, and the development of personally-derived value principles which were consistently applied in specific situations. The materials presented dealt with social issues and personal ethics. The methodology employed was dialogue—guided discussion. However, there is another aspect to valuing which was not emphasized.

This other aspect involves the study about values held by men, today and in other times and places. Such study is a less threatening, a less dissonance-producing alternative to the direct confrontation of student values in the classroom. But it is a vital corollary to such confrontation, especially as social education strives for empathy objectives, understanding others by reference to their motives, plans, emotions, and purposes. This study of values in men's lives and the varieties of values held by men draws upon a broad range of instructional material readily available to teachers and their students. In the enactive mode, students might simply observe people in similar decision-making situations to make inferences about values (i.e., allocation of paycheck resources or welfare check resources, food selection by shoppers in a ghetto store and a suburban shopping center, inquiries about available housing in realtors' offices, pleas and problems in a magistrate's court, etc.).

In the iconic mode, students might well interpret pictures and art forms to infer values and their impact upon men's perceptions and life

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styles. The teacher could display a montage of photographs showing depictions of the Madonna and Child or sculptings of Christ on the Cross by urban artists in the world's many cities for student comparison. The intense drama of *The Wild River,* a film starring Montgomery Clift and Lee Remick, portrays two powerful conceptions of the man-land relationship, one a manipulative, extraceptive "land as resource for us all" view held by the TVA and its agents, the other a feminine, receptive feeling of attachment to the land as *is*—wherein one woman "fits" her land and weaves her life with the processes of that land and its river. The search for an environmental ethic appropriate for urban man is heightened by a comparison of two films: *Sometimes a Great Notion,* with Henry Fonda, Lee Remick, and Paul Newman, and *The Yearling,* with Gregory Peck and Jane Wyman. Both are rural, "pioneer" films. Both use the imagery of the rugged individual. The metaphors are powerful, but the message differs. Recall that Gregory Peck in *The Yearling* felt *one* with the community of the wilderness—nature and his fellow pioneers—as he suffered at the hands of both. The agony of making a responsible decision when the rights of nature conflicted with the need to survive and to sustain the quality of life stand clear with a sensitivity that overwhelms the viewer's emotions. The "Don't give an inch" mentality of the Stampers on their Oregon homestead, in *Sometimes a Great Notion,* makes for some vivid contrasts, as men and resources are stripped—some dying, some leaving, and others left with floating logs and a frozen finger.

The verbal-symbolic materials for presenting values are endless—poems, biography, drama, parable, prose, short stories, and novels are but a few of the resources. *The Humanities in Three Cities* volume in the Holt Social Studies Curriculum, edited by Edwin Fenton, offers a fine example of a semester course based upon the study of values and emphasizing the values of men in an urban context.[33]

This course presents a vast array of materials from Ancient Athens, Renaissance Florence, and Modern New York, but the emphasis is upon the meaning supplied in those times and places to three conceptions: The Good Man, The Good Life, and The Good Society. Students have the opportunity to reflect upon the functions of philosophy and religion in fifth-century Athens; they inquire into the role of women in Renaissance Florence; they contrast statements of aspiration by five black leaders in contemporary New York.

The study about values takes another form in Jack Zevin and Byron G. Massialas' *Religious-Philosophical Systems*[34] booklet in the "World History Through Inquiry" series. Students read five statements from the sacred literature of "religious-philosophical systems," and cope with

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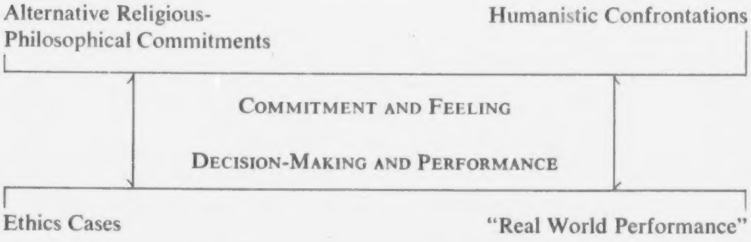
how persons who accept a particular statement would be likely to act in a given situation. They compare the implication of these beliefs in a ceremony (wedding rites), in the constitutions of nation-states, in art forms (poetry, painting, and song), and in social issues which arise from conflicting faiths (i.e., Northern Ireland).

These materials and their focus upon human values remind teachers of the importance of meaning-making and valuing as a socialization process which transcends self and rests upon interaction with others and with the products of others. Education directed toward the development of values and personal commitment would seem to be fostered by the *range* and *intensity* of students' experience with others' values. The *range* aspect implies that students should have the opportunity in their formal education in social studies to confront a broad spectrum of "ultimate concerns" (ultimate commitments) of men across both space and time, underscoring pluralism, but for the direct pedagogical purpose of building empathy and discernment rather than seeking to affect the particular religious commitments. The *intensity* aspect implies that students have the opportunity to examine in some *depth* the experiences and *feelings* of individuals holding these alternative "ultimate concerns" and valuational commitments, seeking to understand and explain these commitments and their implications. The paragraph in the world history text on the Five Pillars of Islam, the three sentences and photograph in the U.S. history text on Martin Luther King, Jr., the survey about American Indians in "Chapter 6," and the sentence on European Jewry's attraction to America in the late nineteenth century are simply inadequate. So is the "coverage" of most human aspirations in the usual instructional materials. If such human events are worth studying, then students must have the time and resources to do the phenomena justice.

Studying the phenomena of human valuing involves at least four kinds of instructional material, divided into two interacting categories. The two categories are "Commitment and Feeling" and "Decision-making and Performance." The first type of material involves statements of aspiration, "ultimate concern," meaning and existential value, or alternative religious-philosophical commitments. In studying about the values men hold, students ought to read and to experience the statement of these values in the words of their proponents or adherents. The second type of material involves "Humanistic Confrontations" wherein students can experience and see the breath of life in the aspirations and commitments of men: What do men celebrate? Fear? What conditions surround their aspirations, and what events have conditioned their aspirations? These "confrontations" emphasize the emotional, affective aspect of commitments, presented in art forms, poetry, fantasy, sacred literature, short story, drama, parable, painting, film, song, cartoon, festival, and such media. The objective of such "confrontations" is to sensitize students to experience and commitments beyond their own.[35]

The third type of material is a series of ethics cases presenting historical and hypothetical situations involving value conflicts which must be resolved or managed. The fourth kind of material is "Real World Performance" situations wherein actual or projected conflicts over goals and values are presented. These situations are instances where individuals, groups, or societies have to make decisions and to act, such as in the cases of the Miami Jetport, the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, the ocean disposal of old munitions and urban wastes, the renewal of cities, the control of urban air pollution, and the issues surrounding educational opportunity.

FIGURE 1


Alternative Religious-Philosophical Commitments
Humanistic Confrontations
COMMITMENT AND FEELING
DECISION-MAKING AND PERFORMANCE
Ethics Cases
"Real World Performance"

For purposes of example, let us consider an instructional unit wherein the teacher wants students to study the appropriateness of employing violence as a strategy for social change in America. For the decision-making and performance category, the teacher has prepared a number of "real world performance" situations, centering on an array of proposals for renewing urban life from architectural magazines and social opinion journals. For the initial activity in the unit, students are asked to examine two "Alternative Religious-Philosophical Commitments"—a long reprint from Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice* and a reprint of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech. To sensitize students to the context of these statements and the emotive quality of such commitments, "Humanistic Confrontations" would be interspersed with discussions on the ethics cases and research on the "real world performance" situations. The following "Humanistic Confrontations" have been taken from the teacher's guide to an experimental unit on "Martin Luther King, Jr.; Protest, War, and Non-Violence."[36]

### A. FOLLOWING THE "I HAVE A DREAM SPEECH"

Another avenue to explore with students is the use of the "dream" metaphor in Dr. King's presentation. What is a "dream?" Who has

"dreams?" "Fantasies?" Men who want to envision a better life, a new life? Men seeking to build hopes and encourage commitment to ideals, bolster aspirations? A dream clung to might be self-deception or mental illness, an evasion of reality. But a dream may be an alive vision, a creative force, driving men and societies to their "promised land," their ideals.

Students might be asked to reflect upon the following questions related to Dr. King's speech and "The Impossible Dream,"[37] the popular song

### THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM

Words by *Joe Darion*
Music by *Mitch Leigh*

To dream the impossible dream
To fight the unbeatable foe
To bear with unbearable sorrow
To run where the brave dare not go
To right the unrightable wrong
To love pure and chaste from afar
To try when your arms are too weary
To reach the unreachable star.
This is my quest:
To follow that star
No matter how hopeless
No matter how far
To fight for the right
Without question of foes;
To be willing to march into hell
For a heavenly goal;
And I know
If I'd only be true
To this glorious quest
That my heart
Will lie peaceful and calm
When I'm laid to my rest
And the world will be better for this
That one man scorned and covered with scars
Still strives with his last ounce of courage
To reach the unreachable star.

from *The Man from La Mancha"* . . . Why do some men accept fate? Why do other men suffer their lot silently? Why do other men seek to overcome their lot and attain "unreachable" goals? Some men seek the attainable and are gratified by attaining. Why do other men strive for the unattainable and are fulfilled by the struggle, not by attainment? Certainly, there are no "right" answers to these open questions, but reflection (a striving for answers and introspection on the strivings of the self) is rewarding to better understand Dr. King's experience. And, more important, such reflection by students ought to promote *self-knowledge*—one's own dreams, aspirations and commitments.

### B. FOLLOWING ETHICS CASES ON "HOW DR. KING MIGHT HAVE DECIDED"

As students set forth their positions and justify them, the teacher and students might raise questions and challenge these positions in a non-threatening way. Students might be asked to justify their position as being "responsible" or being "just." Specific situations might be posed, to see how the student would decide and act in that case and justify his action. A student who opts for force might be asked to consider the power of Dr. King's arguments for non-violence or the authority of biblical dictums: Exodus 20, Deuteronomy 6:1-25, Matthew 5-7, Luke 6, and I John 3-4. Suffering and the ethic of love may be seen as concepts countering the use of violence. Students, on the other hand, who argue against force and violence might be asked to respond to this quotation: "The truest way to love your enemies or, for that matter, your friends, may sometimes be to resist forcibly the evil that they are trying to do."

Returning to Dr. King's conception of non-violence, students should remember that Dr. King argued from his interpretation of Christianity. There are many interpretations, of course, but it is useful to look at three types of love as defined by some Christian ethicists:

*eros:* self-love, loving to reap rewards or pleasures for the self, self-concerned;
*philia:* love of others with whom something is shared, selective;
*agape:* love which precedes selection and choice and is dedicated to satisfy the neighbor's need, or, as some have said, it's the love of the unlovable, the unlikeable.

Dr. King's non-violence was predicated upon a conception of *agape* love, involving very strong commitments to self-sacrifice for others and a commitment to accept another person for what he is—a person with strengths and weaknesses, hopes and fears, with great possibilities for good within him. "Blessed are the meek," one of the beatitudes, is a misleading translation, for "meek" *today* has a connotation of softness and weakness bordering on the cowardly. "Meek" in the biblical sense is what Dr. King sought to capture in the conception of non-violence—the inner strength to suffer without retaliation, to go outward in appealing for justice without self-righteousness or force, to sacrifice for a belief.

Charles McCabe in an article entitled "Of Self-Respect" might be read for student reflection of the nature of "self," in concert with Dick Gregory's 1967 Yale address. Both are reprinted below. The two articles permit students to clarify their values and to summarize their knowledge of the concepts presented thus far in the unit.

### (1) OF SELF-RESPECT[38]

I was much impressed the other night when I heard ascribed to a psychiatrist the statement: "The man who respects himself is incapable of destroying others." This is analogous to another psychiatric dictum which is becoming fashionable: "You cannot love anyone until you love yourself first."

These statements are, of course, deeply related, and they touch on problems which reach far into human nature. It follows from these statements that if man truly valued and loved himself, war would be impossible. In fact, all forms of hostility in personal relations are all around us, and seemingly not letting up; it follows that there are few people around who truly value or love themselves. This is melancholy knowledge.

I know a handful of men who respect themselves, and they are all gentle men. Perhaps it is the mark of the gentle man that within himself he has this elusive thing. What is self-respect? The dictionary says: "Respect for one's self; regard for one's character or standing; laudable self-esteem." Self-respect, like a sense of humor, is something everyone allows to. But it is not a simple quality, and it is found in far less people than profess it. A lot of it comes in your genes and in your schooling, to be sure, but mostly it is worked for. To some it comes late in life, and to some never. To have it when young is to be at the top of the heap.

The self-respecter has not great consciousness that he is an instrument for good or a foe of evil. Such feelings are, in fact, detrimental to true self-love, precisely because they are wild abstractions with no real connection to the human condition. The self-respecter simply knows—with a solid knowledge—that he is himself, and that on the whole he has neither the need nor the willingness to hurt people.

Getting there is a problem. The man who loves himself well cannot go through life without knowing the hostility and enmity of his fellows. When this happens, we have the test. How does he react to violence? The answer, and the only possible answer, is that he takes the course of Jesus and turns the other cheek. Turn it not in righteousness, but in love; because he knows that love, in the end, can neutralize hate. To demonstrate this he may have to give his life, as did Jesus.

Few of us will ever be forced to make such spectacular demonstration of a proposition which is simple. Simple and tough, like so many simple things. The idea that it is within a man's capacity to avoid destroying others is really a rather thrilling one. If it can be achieved by genuine self-love, then self-love should be the thing above all to be pursued by man. Speaking for myself, I have far too little of this precious commodity. I was born an angry man, and grew up so. But I find the anger abates as I age.

I am sure I would not turn the other cheek if someone punched me in the nose, but I am not sure I would approve of my brave belligerence either. Brave cowardice might be the better course. Let us hope that, in our lagging way, we are moving to a world where bravery, and its friend destruction, will be irrelevant. Let us remember the dictum of Konrad Lorenz, the theoretician of aggression: "There is a missing link between the animals and civilized man. That link is us."

### (2) DICK GREGORY'S YALE ADDRESS, 1967[39]

You should have been with us when we have to integrate the schools down South, going around to black folks' houses the whole months of July and August when most folks are on their vacation and making some extra money, convincing those black folks that we need their kids to integrate the schools. The white folks are saying, "We don't want to integrate the schools," they're saying, "The schools are integrated and no colored folks will show." And you finally get twelve families that are going to let you send their kids, you get out of bed and go to the headquarters, but you find that you haven't got twelve kids, you've got eight—four of them copped out overnight. So you go and you pick up your kids. I know, I was there. It's a hell of a thing to go and pick up a five-year-old kid, put him in the car, and you don't know if you are going to live or die that day. But you realize that all five-year-old kids act the same, he acts the same way you were acting your first day in school—talking about playing in the sand and talking about chalking. And then he asks you, "Where's mommy and daddy?" And you lie to him, you say they, well, they'll pick you up one day. And you pull up to the school and you see the policeman barricading it, and the sheriff say, "Where are you going, nigger?" and you say, "I'm going to school," and he says, "You can't bring that damn car in here," and you park the car and you get out and you're walking down the street with a five-year-old black hand in the palm of your hand and you're kind of embarrassed because the five-year-old hand is steady and yours is shaking. The inside of your hand is soaking wet from sweat and none of it's that five-year-old kid's, it's all yours, because about 50 feet away—where you've got to walk up those stairs and get into school—you see something and you know what it means. You're not only being attacked by a mob, but by the police and the first thing you know you land in the gutter with that cracker's foot on your chest and a double-barreled shotgun on your throat saying, "Move, nigger, and I'll kill you," and you're scared, man, you're scared to death. Then you realize today is your turn to die, and you stop being so scared and you start relating with reality . . . then you remember that there's a five-year-old hand missing out of your hand, and as you lie there in the gutter with that rifle at your throat you turn your head and try to find that five-year-old kid, and you find him just in time to see a brick hit him right in the mouth. Now let me talk to you peace people for a minute, and Lord knows, I love you, but you run around demonstrating about napalm and atomic fire—you've never lived till you see a brick hit a five-year-old kid in the mouth, and then see how the kid can't even react like a five-year-old kid should react after being hurt. He can't run to the adults because they're spitting on him and kicking at him. Then they snatch you out of the gutter and put you in the wagon; the last sight you see is a white mother lean over that little kid and spit on him and stomp at him, but filled with so much hate she misses. That evening you get out of jail on bond—only to find that you've got to get out of town because that black father that you convinced when you showed him the article in the *New York Times* where the President says he's not going to put up with nonsense—law and order are going to prevail this September—that black father you convinced that nobody is going to harm his kid, that someone was going to protect him, that's the one that when he looked at his five-year-old kid's mouth hit with that brick, he got his double-barreled shotgun and he's been at SNCC headquarters all day looking for you. He's going to kill you because you promised; he ain't going to kill them crackers, he's going to kill you—so now you get out of town. That's what Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown have been through for six years, when you didn't even know there was a movement. They don't give a damn about what you think now, because they know damn good and well, baby, if you went through the same treatment they went through, half of you would have committed suicide and the other half would be burning this damn country down to the ground.

### C. FOLLOWING A DISCUSSION OF BLACK DEMANDS FOR CHANGE AND PRESSURES FOR THAT CHANGE

Students might need to examine some alternatives from a perspective other than their own. In the following passage, William Stringfellow describes the squalor of a slum tenement in which so many urban black poor people live for want of good housing. Students could expand their analysis by using this piece as a basis for discussion. It might prove fruitful, for establishing an accepting climate within the class, to have a student with some bent for drama, or proven dramatic competencies, "perform" the reading.

### BLACK MEN FEEL[40]

The smells inside the tenement . . . were somewhat more ambiguous. They were a suffocating mixture of rotting food, rancid mattresses, dead rodents, dirt, and the stale odors of human life.

This was to be home. It had been home before: for a family of eight—five kids, three adults. Some of their belongings had been left behind. Some of their life had too.

The place, altogether, was about 25 x 12 feet, with a wall separating the kitchen section from the rest. In the kitchen was a bathtub, a tiny, rusty

*Extreme squalor in a "home" in the Northeastern part of the United States reflects one aspect of a many-sided housing spectrum.*

sink, a refrigerator that didn't work, and an ancient gas range. In one corner was a toilet bowl without a seat. Water dripped perpetually from the box above the bowl. The other room was filled with beds: two double-decker military cots, and a big, ugly convertible sofa. There wasn't much room for anything else. The walls and ceilings were mostly holes and patches and peeling paint, sheltering legions of cockroaches.

This was to be my home.

I wondered, for a moment, why.

Then I remembered that this is the sort of place in which most people live, in most of the world for most of the time. This or something worse.

Then I was home.

The following song by Janis Ian presents other possibilities:

### SOCIETY'S CHILD[41]

Come to my door, baby
Face is clean and shining black as night
My mother went to answer, you know that you looked so fine
Now I could understand your tears and your shame
She called you boy instead of your name.
When she wouldn't let you inside
When she turned and said but honey he's not our kind

She says: I can't see you any more, baby
can't see you any more.

Walk me down to school, baby
Everybody's actin' deaf and dumb
Until they turn and say, "why don't you stick with your own kind?"
My teachers all laugh, the smirking stares,
Cuttin' deep down in our affairs
Preachers of equality, think they believe it:
Then why won't they just let us be?

They say: I can't see you any more, baby,
can't see you any more.

One of these days I'm going to stop my listening
Gonna raise my head up high
One of these days I'm gonna raise up my glistening wings and fly.
But that day will have to wait for a while.
Baby, I'm only society's child.
When we're older things may change
But for now this is the way they must remain.

I say: I can't see you any more, baby
can't see you any more.
No. I don't wanna see you any more, baby.

Janis Ian's hit song, "Society's Child," presents a very personal insight into the implications of alternatives presently being practiced by adult society. Obtain a record of Janis performing the song if you can, and play it for the class. Ask the students to consider what alternatives are open to the people in the song. What can a person who wants to make headway in reference to the moral crisis do if he is impeded by society?

How do we avoid continuation of the crisis? Where does it come from? How has it kept its intensity over the years? There are numerous scholarly volumes written on this subject; sociologists have devoted entire careers to the study of America's racial crisis. One of the most massive studies of society was produced by a Swedish sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal. It is entitled *An American Dilemma;* its subject is the racial crisis in America during the 1930's and 1940's. It would be possible to obtain excerpts from many of these studies and present them to your class, but a more readily available, and perhaps a more powerful, alternative is the song "Carefully Taught" from the show *South Pacific.*[42] It is possible to obtain recordings of this song, which could be played for your class, and then the matter of cutting off the crisis at its origin could be discussed at length, simply by using the content of the song to spark discussion of the issue.

After much discussion of problems and alternatives, the student is likely to throw up his hands and exclaim, "Who's got the answer?" There is probably no answer to his question, and no *one* answer to solve the problem. However, there are some who have advanced some very constructive suggestions about concrete ways to deal with the problem (jobs, programs, guaranteed annual incomes, legislative efforts, black political and economic self-determination, etc.), but we are reminded that this is a *moral* crisis.

## 6. Community Research Modules

In order to make education about urban man more interesting and meaningful, it is necessary to go beyond inquiry using canned data in textbooks and surveys by others. The use of community research modules gets students out into the community collecting data and grappling with their community's issues. While classroom analysis of this data may ultimately be verbal and symbolic, the collection of the data is enactive—the students experience firsthand. This breathes life into the normal fare of the social studies and spawns products in which the students take some pride. The work of several curriculum projects, including Sociological Resources for Social Studies, has illustrated the power of this kind of field research by students.

1. Make a list of organizations that are active in various "decency" campaigns in your community. Interview several members of the organizations regarding their perceptions of the dangers posed by their organizations' activities for individual freedom.
2. Form a group with a number of your classmates. Have each of them contract to write a case study involving a value conflict between an individual's actions based on conscience, and the codes of the society. Use your local newspaper for a resource.
3. Interview a number of members from your local WCTU Develop questions around the themes presented in the biography. Present your class with a "State of the Union" (temperance union, that is) message.
4. In April, 1971, a group of Vietnam war veterans staged a week-long protest in Washington against the Vietnam war. The American Legion and the VFW both issued statements criticizing the actions of the veterans and questioning their loyalty to the United States. Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.), on the other hand, issued a statement to the effect that these men were demonstrating the highest form of loyalty to their nation by questioning the morality and purposes of its efforts. These types of conflicts, concerning loyalty, have existed throughout our history. Arrange a panel discussion, using citizens of varying political persuasions, before your class, on the subject: "A Definition of Loyalty." Prepare a list of cases (such as the one above; or concerning refusal to salute the flag, advocating the overthrow of the government, etc.) and questions that you can use in moderating the panel discussion.
5. Arrange to interview a number of ministers, priests, and rabbis in your area. Try to find out what their opinions are of Dr. Martin Luther King as a religious leader, and as a leader in the struggle for human dignity. Record their responses to your questions and write the results in the form of a report.
6. Value conflicts and dilemmas do not always involve public issues. Many times persons go through conflicts in their personal lives. Get together with your parents and cooperatively prepare a case study of a value conflict that they have experienced in their personal lives, or have observed someone else experiencing.
7. Schools often regulate behavior of students by rules and regulations governing dress, appearance, behavior, staying on the school grounds, etc. This practice is often justified by using the doctrine

*in loco parentis,* that is to say, the school is operating in place of a parent. Make a list of some regulations at your school, then interview members of the school administration, faculty, and student body. Ask them to respond to each regulation as (1) serving to facilitate the education of students, or (2) serving to facilitate *in loco parentis.* Ask each person you interview to give a warrant (backing) for his judgment. Compile your data and write a report comparing response patterns of the three groups. What conflicts are present? What issues seem to be at the base of the conflicts? What explanation can you give for the existence of these issues?

8. Construct a questionnaire and administer it to adults in your neighborhood. The questions you use in your instrument should be designed to measure the perceptions about the life of a welfare recipient. A sample question might be to have them react to this statement: "The life of a welfare recipient is usually a happy one." Your subject should mark one of the following responses: strongly agree, agree, don't know (undecided), disagree, strongly disagree.
9. Contact a group of businessmen in your community and ask them to describe how they *feel* when they ———— (i.e., see this picture, hear this song, read this poem, read these statistics). Select one stimulus object to present in your survey. If you use a song, for example, take along a tape recorder to play it for each person.
10. Identify a group of individuals who provide a community service on a volunteer basis and identify a social action group working to correct a specific social problem. Select a sample of individuals from each group and interview the sample—carefully eliciting statements of their "reasons" (motives) for participating in their activity. Record these statements, and then compare those of each group. What do you make of any differences between the groups' statements?
11. Prepare a fifteen-item questionnaire entitled "Social Responsibility and Religious Institutions." Try to write the items with which people can: "strongly agree," "moderately agree," "slightly agree," "slightly disagree," "moderately disagree," "strongly disagree." One item might be "Religious institutions (i.e., churches and synagogues) should not be involved in political issues concerning school integration." Administer the questionnaire to about thirty adults in your community. Report your findings to the class.
12. With three classmates, research a community problem (i.e., rat infestation, inadequate playground facilities, water pollution). Then prepare a position paper for your class. Define the problem, explain the causes for the problem, examine the various alternative

solutions; then take a stand on one or more "solutions" and defend that choice as a reasonable one.

13. With several classmates, research a community problem (i.e., segregated housing, inadequate educational opportunity, unsatisfactory juvenile justice system). Then prepare a briefing paper in which you define the problem, delineate causes, and specify alternatives open as "solutions." Present this briefing paper to the class for its consideration and decision-making on, or alternative solutions. Make certain that the class justifies its choice.

## 7. Community Seminars

Teachers and classes who devote considerable time to the study of Urban Man might well elect to conduct a community seminar, or a seminar with the administration and faculty of the school. It is important that students get the opportunity to seriously interact with adults on significant problems of concern to both the students and adults. Such seminars, held during school time or, better, during the evening hours when parents can attend, are an opportunity for the parents and community to support the students' efforts. They are also to demonstrate in behavior the commitment that the student-generated ideas are worthy input for policy-makers and other adults who control the social institutions in which the students must survive. Serious interaction should lead to greater feelings of efficacy on the part of students and uplift the role of "student" in the eyes of both students and adults.[43]

Community seminars are not simply opportunities for students to "perform" and thus display their wares as in the science fair, the band concert, and the senior play. The purpose is to allow for serious interaction on a matter of concern wherein students are not passive receivers of messages, but are informed and anxious to participate as equals. The seminars should be action-oriented. Thus, lengthy lectures or prepared presentations by students, teachers, and officials (distinguished guests: judges, policemen, superintendents of education, county clerks, and senators) are dysfunctional.

The following suggestions are provocateurs for students' and teachers' creativity:

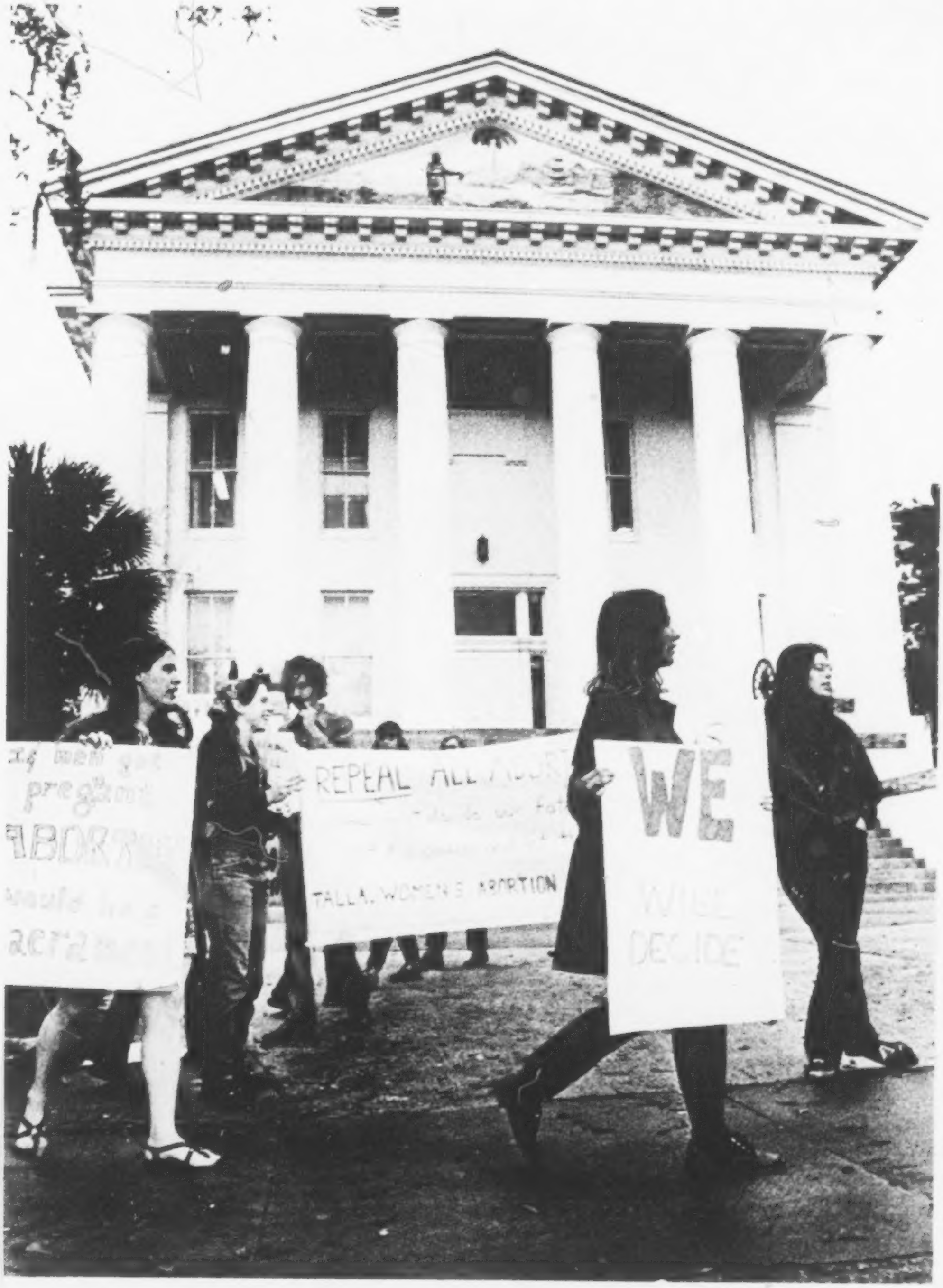
- In a general session, representatives of the class present the issue and the concrete manifestations of the issue in the students' lives and in their community. Then, the general meeting divides into sections with adults and students to discuss the issues in specific cases, returning toward the close of the session to a general session where the groups present their decisions and recommendations.

- In a general session students present an "ADVOCATE'S" type of argumentation with the attitudes and reactions of adults surveyed in a follow-up period toward the close of the meeting. After a briefing on the issues, the seminar should focus upon a specific, concrete case related to students and their community.
- Students might offer a statement of the problem and various perspectives on the probable causes of the conflict; then have parents and representatives of the community discuss ameliorative or conflict resolution measures, and their consequences.

## 8. Social Action Modules

Optimally, school studies should prepare students for active responsible membership in their society. Actual experience in effecting change in the community need not be left until the student graduates. Rather, the school throughout elementary and junior high and secondary grades can facilitate and encourage community action experiences. Only through such actual experience can students learn which ways of bringing about change are most productive. To intellectualize about the problems of Urban Man is not sufficient; if man is to improve his environment, he must act. The school can have an influence in producing rational social actors.

1. Plan and produce a newspaper, a flyer, a photographic essay that highlights some community problem (traffic congestion, slum housing, the effects of poor zoning regulations, air pollution). Circulate or mail the newspaper to parents, students, teachers, and other interested persons in the community.
2. Plan a school assembly that dramatizes a community issue. Invite parents and other interested adults. At the end of the event, hold small group discussions (student-led) that ask what is being done.
3. Write letters to editors, city commissioners, congressmen identifying a specific issue. The letter might suggest some possible solutions and ask what is being done to remedy the problem.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4. Attend a city commission (council meeting). If the format of the program provides for open discussion, have students present a proposal for some specific community problem during that time.
5. Have several students (or groups of students) secure an appointment with a city official, a state legislator, or congressman. The purpose of the meeting is to identify solutions for a specific problem and to find out what is being done.
6. Form special interest clubs focused on some aspect of community change. A Political Action Club, an Environment Club, a group dedicated to developing teenage recreation, etc. In each case the group should have teacher and perhaps parent sponsorship. Students should study the problem as thoroughly as they can before deciding on a course of action. They can listen to speakers, hold study and rap sessions prior to identifying the alternatives that are open to them and deciding what they should do.
7. Develop student chapters of political parties to study platforms, hear speakers, and plan strategies to support a political party candidate or issue.
8. Form a "Get-Out-the-Vote" Club that has the responsibility of advertising registration dates, sites, and qualifications. Plan babysitting and transportation services for those who need them in order to register and vote.
9. Start an Intergroup Relations Club where students regularly meet with persons who represent a wide range of racial, ethnic, and religious groups. Plan these meetings so that they are task-oriented —that is, they define an issue and work to do something about it.
10. Design social studies courses that are scheduled for a two- to three-hour block of time. Such courses would take on the nature of a community study-action group and would give their attention to local problems and design and implement strategies to deal with them. The larger block of time would allow students to get out into the community as they need to.

All of the modules described above follow certain important guidelines. First, sensitivity to social issues requires experience. Each module should begin by confronting students with the issue in a personal way. For example, they might visit a slum area, interview people who have been on drugs, talk to former prison inmates, to social workers, politicians, and public officials. Viewing powerful films, participating in role-playing experiences or simulation games also represent ways that can be used to personalize the issue to students. Second, each social action module requires a thoughtful analysis of the issue before a course of action is identified. None of these experiences is intended to be impulsive or spontaneous responses to a social problem Rather this thoughtful analysis entails an investigation into the many ramifications of a problem, a thorough examination of alternative courses of action and their possible consequences. Third, students must not be coerced into social action experiences. Those who are disposed to act should be afforded the opportunity. Deciding to take action is a personal matter. Requiring participation will negate the value of the activity and violate the principle of free choice. Fourth, once action has been taken, its effects should be examined as systematically as possible. To what extent was the action effective? Why did it succeed, partially succeed, or fail? Did anything happen that suggests more knowledge about the problem is necessary? What effect did the action taken have on the attitudes and values of the students? Should the group take a different action? All of these are questions that need to be raised to maximize the value of a social action experience.

Implicit in all of the modules was a focus on a major social problem that has continually confronted man. (Poverty, human rights, race relations, etc.) Further, all of the social action strategies dealt with the problem on a broad social basis. That is, students faced a social issue that had surfaced in their community and designed collective or group efforts to deal with it. None of these activities was of a personal one-to-one nature. None asked students to respond to the problems of individuals rather than groups. Yet, actions taken by one individual to help another should also be encouraged. A student may decide to read to a blind person, prepare Christmas baskets for some poor children, hold a book drive for a storefront school, visit an elderly person on a regular basis, or tutor a dropout who has returned to school. All of these projects are socially and personally rewarding and opportunities should be provided to facilitate them. However, they should not be confused with more broadly based social action experiences by which a group decides to tackle a social or community issue more comprehensively.

Elementary, junior high, and secondary teachers can select from the above modules and adapt them to the interests and maturity of their students. The example of modules that is provided is not intended to be exhaustive. Rather, it is hoped that it will stimulate teachers to develop still other experiences that will involve students in "doing something" about the condition of Urban Man.

## FOOTNOTES

[1] Many of the modules in this section were prepared by Reese Parker, instructor at the Florida State University School; Mary Kathleen Dunn, instructor at Blessed Sacrament School, Tallahassee; and Daniel M. Ulrich, instructor at North Eugene High School, Eugene, Oregon.

[2] Hilda Taba. *Teachers' Handbook for Elementary Social Studies.* Introductory Edition. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1967, p. 92.

[3] *The Fourth Street i.* Volume 1, Number 2, Fall, 1970, p. 4.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[9] Taba, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[10] Maurice P. Hunt and Lawrence E. Metcalf. *Teaching High School Social Studies,* New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1968, pp. 106-107.

[11] Seymour Kurtz, Editor. *The New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac,* New York: The New York Times, 1970, p. 652.

[12] Don C. Bennett. "The American Black Ghetto: A Geographic Appraisal," in *The Social Sciences and Geographic Education: A Reader,* edited by John M. Ball, John E. Steinbrink, and Joseph P. Stoltman. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1971, pp. 298-306.

[13] See Louis B. Raths, Merrill Harmin, and Sidney B. Simon, *Values and Teaching,* Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, Inc., 1966; Richard M. Jones, *Fantasy and Feeling in Education,* New York: New York University Press, 1968; George Isaac Brown, *Human Teaching for Human Learning,* New York: The Viking Press, 1971.

[14] Archibald MacLeish, "The Revolt of the Diminished Man," *Saturday Review,* June 7, 1969, p. 19.

[15] Cat Stevens, "Where Do the Children Play?" from the album, *Tea for the Tillerman,* A & M Record Company, Hollywood, California. Copyright 1970 Freshwater Music Ltd. (England). Controlled in the Western Hemisphere by Irving Music, Inc. (BMI) All Rights Reserved.

[16] Hopie N. Fairchild, *Religious Perspectives in College Teaching,* New York: The Ronald Press, 1952.

[17] "Jesus Christ, Superstar: A Rock Opera," by Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice. © Copyright 1969 by Leeds Music, Ltd., London, England. Distributed by Decca Records, New York (DXSA — 7206). Sole selling agent Leeds Music Corporation, 445 Park Avenue, New York.

[18] John Lennon and Paul McCartny, "Eleanor Rigby" from the album, *Revolver,* London: Northern Songs Ltd., 1966. (Capitol Record Company, Scranton, Pennsylvania.)

[19] Malcolm Boyd. *Free to Live, Free to Die,* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967.

[20] Rodney Allen, "unnamed Poem" (unpublished).

[21] Isaiah 55: 12-13 (Revised Standard Version of the Bible), New York: National Council of the Churches of Christ, 1952.

[22] Malcolm Boyd. *Are You Running With Me, Jesus?,* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965.

[23] For additional discussion of social participation skills, see Fannie and George Shaftel, *Role-Playing for Social Values.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967; Donald W. Oliver and James P. Shaver, *Teaching Public Issues in High School,* Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1966; Maurice Hunt and Lawrence Metcalf, *Teaching High School Social Studies,* New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

[24] "Patterns" from the album *Parsley, Sage, Rosemary, Thyme*, Columbia Records/C.B.S., Inc., New York, N.Y.

[25] Idea for this section derived from: George Isaac Brown, *Human Teaching for Human Learning*, New York: the Viking Press, 1971. pp. 82-86.

[26] *Man's Search for Himself*, New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1952, p. 216.

[27] Louis E. Raths, Merrill Harmin, and Sidney B. Simon, *Values and Teaching*, Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Company, 1966. Of course, many other models are available for application to such cases: "Value analysis" in Maurice Hunt and Lawrence Metcalf, *Teaching High School Social Studies*, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968, p. 134; Stephen E. Toulmin, *The Uses of Argument*, New York: The Cambridge University Press, 1958, pp. 115-135; "Jurisprudential Approach" in Donald W. Oliver and James P. Shaver, *Teaching Public Issues in the High School*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966, pp. 287-289, and Fred Newmann and Donald W. Oliver, *Clarifying Public Controversy*, Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1970; Lawrence Metcalf, editor, *Values Education*, Washington, D.C.: The National Council for the Social Studies, 1971.

[28] Valorie Mutton (Elementary Education major at The Florida State University), "Annie" (unpublished story).

[29] Prepared by Andrew Copassaki, graduate student, The Florida State University, Tallahassee.

[30] Cases 7, 8, and 9 were written by Mike Rubin, an undergraduate student at The Florida State University, during the winter quarter, 1971.

[31] John A. Zahorik and Dale L. Brubaker, *Toward Humanistic Instruction*, Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, 1971. (Chapter 5.)

[32] *Sunshine*, Interact, Lakeside, California 92040; *Ghetto*, New York: Western Publishing Co., Inc., 1969.

[33] New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1969.

[34] Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1969.

[35] A sequential strategy for presenting such confrontations in the classroom was set forth by James William Noll in "Humanism as a Method," *The Educational Forum*, May, 1964, pp. 489-495:

Step 1: *Confrontation (Experiencing)*

The initiating situation in which the individual is exposed to the objective work of art and has a disposition to try to understand it and to learn from it.

Step 2: *Analysis*

The struggle to understand the work in the light of past experiences and the attempt to analyze one's own initial reactions to the work in terms of the meaning of its content and the impact of its affective qualities.

Step 3: *Communication*

The process of clarification, reflection, and interaction whereby the viability of the analyzed reactions is determined through communication with other human beings or, at least, with oneself.

Step 4: *Internalization*

The incorporation of the value elements derived from the total experience, forming a slightly new personality configuration.

Step 5: *Utilization*

The conscious and subconscious use of internalized value elements and awakened sensitivity in further confrontations with objective works of art, in the struggle for identity and self-realization and in the exploration of one's own creative potentialities.

[36] Prepared for the Religion-Social Studies Curriculum Project, The Florida State University, by Reese Parker and Rodney F. Allen.

[37] Copyright 1965 by Andrew Scott, Inc., Helena Music Corp. and Sam Fox Publishing Company, Inc., Sam Fox Publishing Company, Inc., Sole Agents.

[38] Charles McCabe, "Of Self-Respect," First printed in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 18, 1968.

[39] Dick Gregory, "Let's Make It Right," *Yale Alumni Magazine* (February 1968).

[40] From *My People Is the Enemy* by William Stringfellow, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964.

[41] "Society's Child" from the album *Janis Ian*, Dialogue Music, Inc., New York, 1966.

[42] From the album, *South Pacific*, R.C.A. Victor, Rockaway, New Jersey (Williamson Music Company, Inc., Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, Copyright, 1949).

[43] For additional information on this strategy, see Donald William Oliver and Fred M. Newmann, "Education and Community," in Theodore R. Sizer, editor, *Religion and Public Education*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967, pp. 184-227; and Fred M. Newmann and Donald William Oliver, *Clarifying Public Controversy*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970.

# 6. Liberating the Black Ghetto: Decision-Making and Social Action

## James A. Banks

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When future historians write the history of Black Americans in the 1970's, they will most likely regard the present decade as the beginning of the second dark era for Black people since the end of the Civil War period. Since he first landed on American shores, the Black American has never fully participated in the mainstream of American life. While Blacks have vigorously protested racism and their caste status throughout their long history in this country, their hopes for achieving human rights did not spring full-blown until the coming of the Civil War. Blacks saw the Civil War as the God-sent conflict which would release them from physical and psychological bondage. For a few years during and immediately after the war, they enjoyed a brief honeymoon. It was during this period that slavery was legally abolished, the first Blacks participated in federal and state governments, and many attained the right to vote for the first time.

The gains which resulted from the Civil War were short-lived. When Northern troops pulled out of the South in 1877, Southerners reestablished white supremacy. The sharecropping system—a new kind of slavery—emerged. Blacks found themselves dependent on their old masters for a livelihood. The Ku Klux Klan and other terrorist groups were formed. Blacks were disenfranchised by such extralegal techniques as the "grandfather clause," the poll tax, and the democratic primary. Schools and public accommodation facilities were legally segregated, and signs such as "Only Whites Allowed" and "Colored Entrance" sprang up throughout the South. Blacks and whites weren't allowed to drink from the same water fountains in many cities, and Blacks even had to attend the zoo on different days from whites. Boll weevils took their toll of cotton crops, thus eliminating the need for many Black field workers. As white supremacy was being reestablished in the South, Northerners lost interest in the "Black problem." With slavery "abolished," the abolitionists silenced their cries. But the new "slavery" was just as psychologically devastating to the Black man as was the old.

Because of severe conditions in the South, Blacks began migrating to Northern cities in large numbers. They had been led to believe that they would find a land of milk and honey "Up North." When he arrived in Northern cities, the Black man found no promised land. While he could vote and call whites "Charlie," instead of "Mr. Charlie," he found that he was the last hired and the first fired, and was largely confined to demoralizing ghettos. His children went to the worst schools. As Blacks competed with whites in the job market, tension between them arose, and the first widespread confrontations between Blacks and whites took place. Blacks had been the victims of white violence since they had arrived on this continent. However, confrontations increased during this period because the city gave the Black man a taste for freedom and the nerve to fight back when attacked.

The opening years of the twentieth century witnessed widespread violence between Blacks and whites. One of the bloodiest riots of this period broke out in East St. Louis in 1917. Nine whites and thirty-nine Blacks lost their lives in this bloody confrontation. Riots hit other cities, including Chicago, where thirty-eight persons lost their lives. James Weldon Johnson, the gifted Black writer, aptly dubbed the summer of 1919 "The Red Summer" because of the blood that ran in our city streets. The first civil rights organizations were formed during this period to help Blacks cope with institutionalized racism and violence.

When World War II began and defense jobs became available in big cities, another great mass of Blacks fled to Northern and Western cities, again searching for jobs and a better life. They found some opportunities, but problems similar to the ones they had experienced before emerged. Racial confrontations again swept the cities. Detroit, New York, and Los Angeles were hit with racial outbreaks.

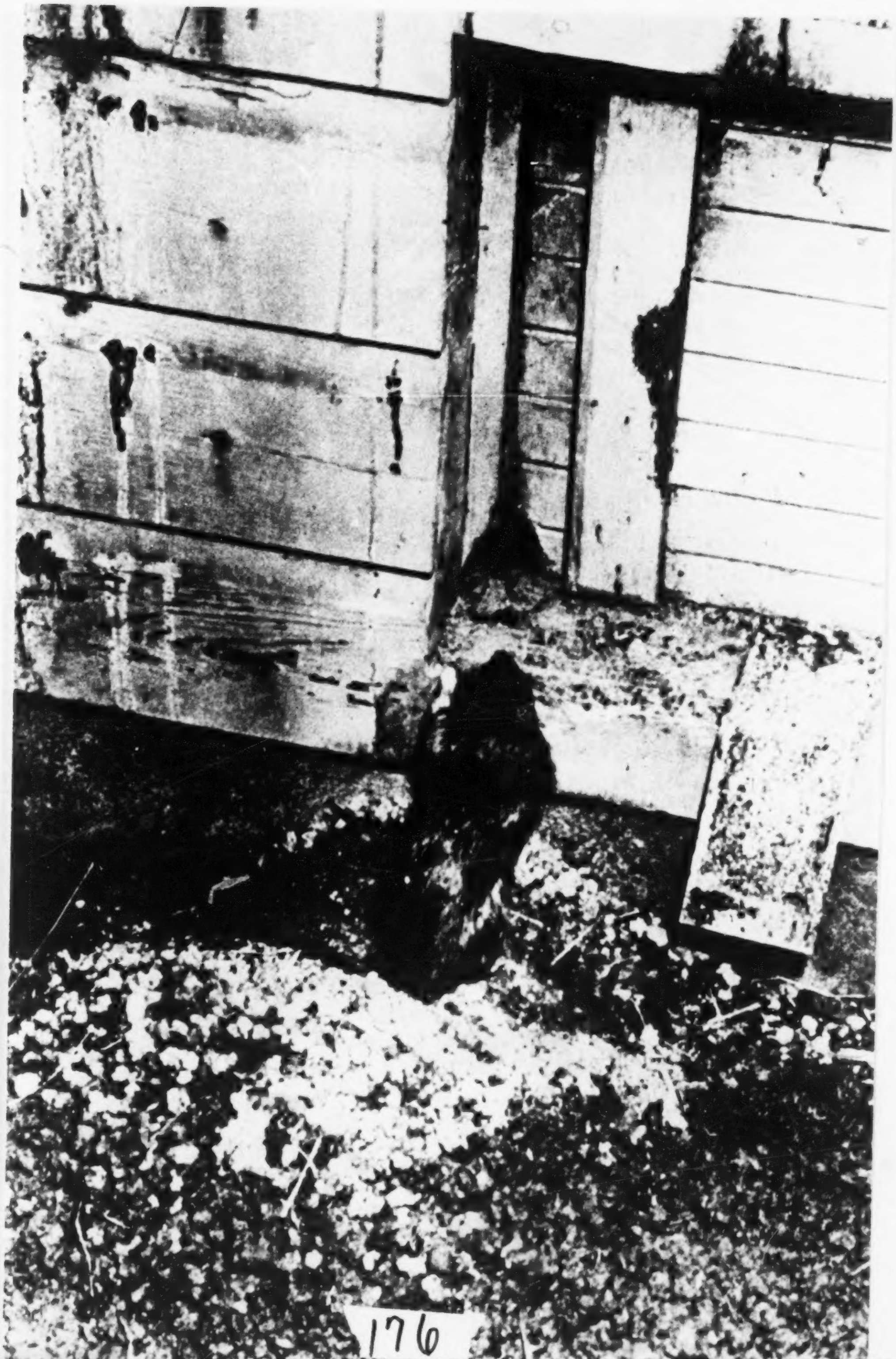
The first major organized attack by Blacks on institutionalized racism was signaled when four Black college students sat down at an all-white lunch counter at a Woolworth's store in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960. This movement grew and became known as the "Black Revolt." It quickly spread to Northern and Western cities. This revolt, which took the form of sit-ins, pray-ins, swim-ins, and boycotts, coupled with the rebellions that broke out in our ghettos in the 1960's, made many Americans think deeply for the first time about our serious racial problems. The charismatic leadership of Martin Luther King and the TV scenes of Southern policemen beating innocent Black women and children with cattle prods, scenes that were flashed throughout the world, helped to create an atmosphere which enabled Blacks to experience another honeymoon in their struggle for human rights. The passage of the *Civil Rights Bill of 1964* (the most comprehensive to date), the "War on Poverty," and the attempts made by educators to put Black history into the school curriculum were direct results of the Black Revolt of the 1960's.

When the 1970's opened, the Black American found himself in a curious predicament. Not only had the honeymoon of the 1960's come to an abrupt end, but a strong reaction had been triggered within the white community. A "law and order" cult had emerged to stamp out Black demands for equality. To many white Americans, "law and order" meant an end to Black demands and campus rebellions. Most political leaders, unlike those of the 1960's, did not include civil rights as a major component of their platforms. "Law and order" was clearly the salient issue in campaigns at all governmental levels and almost became synonymous with political success. Candidates who championed "law and order" were elected mayors of several of our major cities, including Los Angeles. The epitome of "law and order" was marked by the passage of the Washington, D.C. "No Knock" law that, under certain circumstances, allows policemen to walk into a citizen's home without knocking. The passage of the law in Washington, D.C., a predominantly Black city, was not taken lightly by other Black people.

In the early 1970's, Blacks were without strong national leadership. The assassination of Martin Luther King left a leadership void which will not be easily filled. Militant groups, such as the Black Panther Party, were the most vocal during this period. A movement to silence the Party, believed by many Blacks to be a national conspiracy, began to emerge. In city after city, policemen raided Panther headquarters, each time leaving a few Panthers dead. These killings were labelled "justifiable homicide" by judicial authorities. In 1969 alone, policemen killed twenty-eight members of the Panther Party. In New Orleans a group of Party members were stripped naked in a public street, reminding many Blacks of the horrible acts committed against the Jews during Hitler's reign. While many Blacks did not agree with everything the Party stood for, they felt that rarely in our history had death been the penalty for militant protest. The Panther witch hunt also disturbed Blacks because they felt that after the Panthers were exterminated, the Urban League and the NAACP might be next on the agenda.

By almost any criteria, the beginning of this decade signaled a new dark era for the Black American, made especially painful because of the hopes raised during the 1960's. Our schools are more segregated than they were when the Supreme Court declared school segregation illegal in 1954. Our big cities are becoming increasingly poor and Black, but are still white-controlled. Blacks are victims of racism, live in rotting ghettos, are powerless, alienated, and poverty-stricken. The gains from the Black Revolt of the 1960's—which were primarily symbolic and did not result in basic institutional change—mainly benefited the small Black middle class. Racial tensions have reached a new peak, and our nation is rapidly moving toward two "separate and unequal" societies, with one oppressed and victimized, and the other confused and suffering from an intense social sickness. One people cannot oppress another without creating conflict, a world of myths and illusions in which it becomes difficult if not impossible to distinguish the real from the make-believe, and lies from truth. Thus we are beginning to learn that by liberating the Black man from his physical and psychological ghetto, we will also be liberating whites from a ghetto no less pernicious.

Most Black Americans are urban dwellers—and they are largely confined to the ghetto. The dehumanizing conditions which Black ghetto residents must tolerate have been vividly and poignantly described by such gifted and sensitive writers as Kenneth B. Clark, James Baldwin, Malcolm X and Claude Brown.[1] It is not necessary to restate these problems here in any detail. Gross unemployment, rat-infested housing, high rates of infant mortality, prostitution, and illegal drugs are rampant in the Black ghetto. The Black man's problem is complicated by the fact that he is a rather recent migrant to the cities; he faces all of the problems faced by any newcomer to the city, compounded by his skin color. Taught in inferior schools, he often lacks the skills needed to



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obtain well-paying jobs; he is often not hired when he does have skills.

The social milieu of the Black American has had profound influences on the structure of his personality. Most Blacks are trapped within a psychological as well as a physical ghetto. Many Blacks learn to hate and blame themselves for the horrible conditions in which they must live. The Black child's deflated self-concept emerges from his inculcation of the dominant attitudes of whites, and from his existence within a world that is largely hostile and antagonistic. Kenneth Clark writes

> . . . children who are consistently rejected understandably begin to question and doubt whether they, their family, and their group really deserve no more respect from the larger society than they receive.[2]

Research indicates that Black children often have ambivalent racial attitudes, deflated self-images, and low educational and occupational aspirations and achievement. Clark and Clark found that a majority of Black children from ages five to seven indicated a preference for white skin color to brown skin color. They also found that by age seven, Black children must often escape realistic self-identification and that many indicate a clear-cut preference for whites.[3] Some evidenced emotional conflict when they were asked to indicate a color preference. While a "Black is Beautiful" movement emerged in the 1960's, the gains from this movement should not be overestimated. It is the vocal Black minority who shouts Black Power slogans. Most Black children live within a world where Black connotes evil and shame. These children find it difficult to believe that they are beautiful when everything within their environment contradicts that belief. As Smith has perceptively noted, "In spite of the growing 'Black Power, Black Pride' movement, millions of Blacks are trapped in the delusion of worthlessness so carefully engineered by an exploitative larger society."[4] A social studies curriculum which attempts to liberate Blacks from the ghetto must try to release them from psychological as well as physical captivity.[5]

## Black History: The School's Response to Black Revolt

As the Black Revolt of the 1960's gained momentum, Black people demanded that history be rewritten so that the role played by them in the making of America would be favorably and realistically depicted. Civil rights groups pressured school districts to ban lily-white history textbooks from the schools; and, in turn, school districts pressured publishers to include Blacks and other minority groups in textbooks and other teaching materials.

In response to Black demands for Black history and Black studies, educational institutions at all levels have made some attempts to institute

Black Studies programs. Publishers, seeking quick profits, have responded to the Black history movement by producing a flood of textbooks, tradebooks, and multimedia kits, many of dubious educational value. Most of the "integrated" materials now on the market are little more than old wine in new bottles. They include white characters painted brown, and a few scattered facts about "safe" Black personalities such as Crispus Attucks and Booker T. Washington.

While Black history should be a part of the social studies curriculum for *all* children, merely adding more facts about Blacks such as Attucks and Washington will not do much to help Black children solve the urgent problems which they confront, or greatly contribute to their liberation from their physical and psychological ghetto. Isolated facts about Crispus Attucks will not stimulate the intellect or help to develop problem-solving skills any more than isolated facts about Abraham Lincoln or Betsy Ross.

## Decision-Making and Social Action

*To help liberate Black Americans from physical and psychological captivity, we must help them to attain effective decision-making and social action skills which can be used to solve personal problems and influence the making of public policy.* While these skills are needed by all students, they are especially needed by Black students because most of them are still physically and psychologically victimized by institutional racism. When an individual develops the ability to make rational decisions, he can act intelligently to free himself from oppression. Thus the ultimate goal of social studies for Blacks should be to make them intelligent social activists. This writer assumes that decision-making skills can be developed, that humans can be trained to reflect upon problems before acting on them, and that individuals can learn to act upon the decisions which they have freely made.

We must provide opportunities for Black students to participate in *social action* programs so that they can become political activists. Traditionally we have educated for political apathy. Students have been taught that every citizen gets equal protection under the law, that discrimination only exists in the South, and that if they vote regularly and obey the law they can expect our benign political system to make sure that they get their slice of the "American Dream" pie. The problems of Blacks, Chicanos, American Indians, and Puerto Ricans have been deceptively evaded in such lessons on our political system.

> By teaching that the constitutional system of the U.S. guarantees a benevolent government serving the needs of all, the schools have fostered *massive*

> *public apathy*. Whereas the Protestant ethic calls for engagement (to survive economically one must *earn* his living), the political creed breeds passivity. One need not struggle for political rights, but only maintain a vague level of vigilance, obey the laws, make careful choices in elections, perform a few duties (taxes, military services), and his political welfare is assured. (First emphasis added)[6]

Traditional approaches to political education have alienated our students—especially the Black pupils whose daily lives contradict much of what they learn in school—and made them politically apathetic. We have not equipped students with the ability to participate intelligently in social action in order to influence the making of public policy. The tendency of our youth—of all races and groups—to destroy, criticize, and yet not propose realistic alternatives to current policy and institutions may, to a large extent, reflect an education which uses propagandist techniques to indoctrinate and which teaches political apathy.

It is especially important for us to help students to develop the ability to make rational decisions and to participate effectively in social action in times when rhetoric is frequently substituted for reason, and when simplistic solutions are often proposed as answers to complicated social problems. Wanton destruction is frequently the only response that many of our youth can make when archaic institutions stubbornly resist their just demands for change.

## Decision-Making and the Black Ghetto Resident

Each day the resident of the Black ghetto must make personal and public decisions which profoundly affect his life:

> My landlord has not fixed the roof as he promised six months ago, what should I do?
>
> Food is terribly expensive at the local store, what should I do about it?
>
> Should I vote for Smith or Lee?
>
> Should I try to move this year or wait until next year?
>
> Should I leave my family so that they will get more welfare funds?
>
> Should I participate in the riot which has broken out down the street?
>
> Is it worthwhile for me to stay in school another year?

The social studies curriculum should help Black children develop the skills needed to make rational decisions on these kinds of decision-problems. The decisions which they make should be consistent with their values and should result in effective social and political action.

## Components of the Decision-Making Process

Sound decisions cannot be made in a vacuum. Knowledge is one essential component of the decision-making process. If a resident of the ghetto has to decide what he should do about a landlord who will not repair a leak in the roof, he could make a more effective decision if he knew something about the laws which govern the relationship between a landlord and his tenants, the physical condition of other apartment buildings within the neighborhood in which he might move, and the availability and cost of apartment buildings in other areas of the city. By acquainting himself with the legal and sociological aspects of slum housing, he would be able to make a more rational decision.

While knowledge is an essential component of decision-making, there are many ways of attaining knowledge which a person might use. In trying to find out about the laws governing the relationship between landlord and tenant, the individual could use the "self-evident method"; he might conclude that he can stay in the apartment and not pay the rent until the landlord repairs the roof. This may seem to him self-evident or "agreeable to reason." A person whom he regards as an authority may tell him that if he fixed the roof himself, he could deduct the cost of repairing it from his rent without the landlord's consent. The individual could also use the scientific method to obtain information about tenant laws. By using this method, he would regard his ideas about the situation merely as hypotheses, and before coming to a conclusion about the situation, he would investigate the laws.

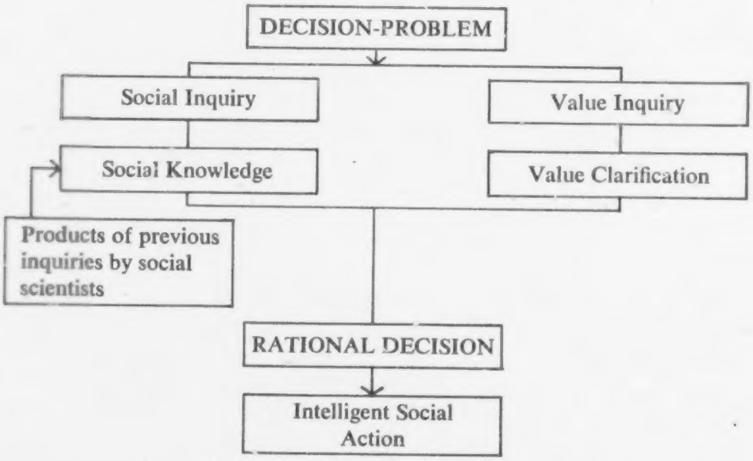
While children can and do use many methods to attain knowledge, they should be taught to use the scientific method, when possible, to attain the knowledge needed to make decisions. Essentially, this method involves identifying and stating problems, formulating hypotheses to guide research, gathering and evaluating data, and formulating tentative conclusions and generalizations. Decisions which are made on the basis of knowledge which is self-evident or based upon the opinion of questionable authorities (Americans rely heavily upon such authorities for information) cannot result in the making of what we have defined as a rational decision. Decisions can be no better than the knowledge on which they are based. *Rational decisions are based upon scientific knowledge.*

Knowledge, derived by a scientific process, is only one essential component of the decision-making process. Before a social actor can make a sound decision, he must be able to clearly identify his values. Thus *value inquiry and clarification* constitute an important part of the decision-making process. In order for a social actor to make decisions and to act in a way consistent with his values, he must be helped to identify the sources of his values, state how they conflict, identify value alternatives, and choose freely from them. The decision-maker must also be encouraged to predict and consider the possible consequences of alternative values and helped to clarify conflicting and confused ones. Conflicting values exist within individuals as well as within our larger society. Some students used violent tactics to protest the war in Southeast Asia during the 1960's.

What has been said above suggests that a curriculum focused on helping children to make decisions on pressing social issues must consist of more than deriving social knowledge using the mode of inquiry of the social scientist. Not only must the social actor derive social science knowledge (facts, concepts, generalizations, and theories), he must also identify and clarify his values, synthesize knowledge from many disciplines, and use it to help him predict which courses of action will result in consequences most consistent with his values. *While social science inquiry is necessary for decision-making, it is not sufficient.* The goal of social science inquiry is to derive theoretical knowledge; the goal of the decision-maker or social actor is to select and synthesize that knowledge in such a way that it will enable him to take rational action. *Action is rational and intelligent when the social actor is aware of all possible consequences of it, is willing to accept them, and when it reflects the actor's values. (See Figure 1.)*

FIGURE 1

A SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM FOCUSED ON SOCIAL INQUIRY, VALUING, DECISION-MAKING, AND INTELLIGENT SOCIAL ACTION


DECISION-PROBLEM
Social Inquiry
Value Inquiry
Social Knowledge
Value Clarification
Products of previous inquiries by social scientists
RATIONAL DECISION
Intelligent Social Action

Knowledge from any one discipline is insufficient for the decision-maker. A decision-maker who is trying to decide what actions to take to eliminate poverty in his community will find the insights from history, economics, political science, sociology, and psychology helpful. Historical knowledge will help him to understand the types of social protest which have been effective in influencing public policy in the past; sociological and political science generalizations will provide insights about how groups may be formed to affect policy decisions; economic concepts will illuminate the ability of the community to eliminate poverty; and psychological knowledge will help him understand the meaning of poverty to the residents of the community, and thus their possible willingness to protest. *Using concepts and generalizations from all of the social science disciplines, the decision-maker will be able to identify possible courses of actions, and to predict their possible consequences.* For example, he might conclude, "If I participate in a demonstration to protest poverty, I might be ignored by policy makers because mass demonstrations have been ineffective in recent months"; or "If I try to create discontent at the grass-roots level, my chances for implementing change will be slight because most of the residents do not regard their poverty as being as severe as I do." The social activist may decide that he can best help solve the poverty problem in his community by organizing a small group of leaders to work directly with employers.

## Teaching Strategies for Decision-Making and Social Action

We have discussed some of the pressing social problems which face Black Americans today, and suggested that Black students should be exposed to a social studies curriculum which will enable them to develop the ability to make intelligent decisions regarding these problems which can lead to social action that will influence the making of public policy. We suggested that knowledge derived by an inquiry process, and values, analyzed and clarified by value inquiry, are essential components of the decision-making process. The rational decision-maker must select, synthesize, and apply knowledge from all of the social sciences, and clarify his values before he can act intelligently to affect public policy.

*Social science inquiry, value inquiry* and *decision-making* each consists of a cluster of interrelated skills. Each cluster of skills is also highly interrelated, but the teacher should separate them for instructional purposes to assure that the student gains proficiency in each of them. Lessons should also be planned to give the student practice in relating each set of skills to decide what actions to take regarding personal and public problems.

To plan units which will give students practice in using and relating these skills, the teacher (or students) can select a social problem for study, identify concepts and generalizations from the various social sciences which will provide the knowledge needed to make a decision regarding the issue, structure lessons on value inquiry, and give the students opportunities to decide what actions they will take. They should also be given opportunities to *act* on their decisions.

Students should be encouraged to make their own decisions, and not to rely on others to make decisions for them. While they should be encouraged to think independently, there will be situations where groups of children will make group decisions. Practice in some group decision-making is desirable because in many real-life situations the individual must often participate in group decision-making. Also, if social action projects are to be planned or executed, they will usually be undertaken in groups, although individuals may decide to take independent actions on some social issues analyzed in class.

An example will illustrate how children may study a social issue, and, through a decision-making process, decide what actions to take regarding it. A movement has begun in City X to close some of the Black schools and to bus Black students to predominantly white schools in outlying areas of the city. A sixth-grade class in a Black ghetto school poses this problem: *What action should we take regarding forced bussing?*

### Social Science Inquiry

Since scientific knowledge is one essential component of the decision-making process, the teacher identifies social science *concepts* and *generalizations* which will help the children make intelligent decisions about the issue. The teacher selects the concepts of *conflict* from history, *culture* from anthropology, *discrimination* from sociology, and *power* from political science. Generalizations related to the concepts are identified and strategies are devised which will enable the students to derive them using an inquiry process (social science inquiry). The following generalizations are exemplary:

CONFLICT

Throughout history, conflict has developed between various racial and ethnic groups.

DISCRIMINATION

Groups are often the victims of discrimination and prejudice because of age, sex, race, or religion.

CULTURE

All cultures have a set of traditions which help to maintain group solidarity and identity.

> The culture under which a person matures exerts a powerful influence on him throughout his life.
>
> Culture exchange takes place when groups with diverse cultures come into prolonged contact. Forced culture change may disrupt a society.[7]
>
> POWER
>
> Individuals are more likely to influence public policy when working in groups than when working alone.

The teacher should select only those organizing concepts and generalizations from the social science disciplines which are most directly related to the social issue under study. When selecting content samples for development of generalizations, it is best to select a few topics and cover them in depth rather than to select many and cover them superficially. For example, when teaching the generalization about *conflict,* the teacher might select all examples from the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's, rather than from other periods, such as slavery or the Civil War. Emphasis should be on developing analytical concepts and generalizations and not on the mastery of specific facts and low-level statements. When developing criteria for the selection of content samples, the teacher should consider the children's previous learnings, their interests, reading abilities, and the availability of materials and resources.

Many different teaching strategies can be used to develop each of the concepts and generalizations identified above. The following exercise illustrates how fiction can be used to teach the concept of *discrimination:*

> Read selections from *South Town, North Town,* and *Whose Town?* by Lorenz Graham to the class. These books will acquaint the students with problems faced by a typical Black Southern family, and how the Williams attempted to solve them by migrating North. *South Town* is a poignant, gripping, yet realistic story about the family's painful experiences with prejudice in a Southern community. In *North Town,* the Williams discover, like many other Southern Black migrants, that the North is no promised land. In *Whose Town?* Graham effectively and poignantly describes the Black revolt of the 1960's as manifested in fictional Northtown —which could be Newark, Detroit, Chicago, or any other American city in which riots have occurred. In candid detail, he relates how the racial tension in Northtown results in brutal and unprovoked attacks against Blacks, killings, and finally a riot when a small black boy is drowned by a white mob at a public pool.[8]

### Value Inquiry

After students have had an opportunity to derive social science knowledge related to their decision-problem, they should undertake lessons which will enable them to identify, analyze, and clarify their values related to the problem. For value inquiry exercises, the teacher may use case studies clipped from newspapers and magazines, open-ended stories, photographs, role-playing activities, or realistic cases which he may write. For example, the teacher might show the class a picture depicting hostile white parents trying to stop a busload of Black students from entering their school grounds, and ask the following kinds of questions:

- What is happening in this picture?
- Why do you think that it is happening?
- How do you think that the parents feel?
- Why do you think they feel that way?
- How do you think the children on the bus feel?
- Why do you think they feel that way?
- How would you feel if you were one of the parents? Why?
- How would you feel if you were one of the children? Why?
- Do you think that the children have a right to go to this school? Why or why not?
- Do you think that they *should* go to this school? Why or why not?

### Decision-Making and Social Action

After the students have derived social science generalizations related to the problem, and clarified their values regarding it, the teacher should ask them to list all possible actions which they may take regarding forced bussing, and to predict the possible consequences of each alternative. They should then order the alternatives according to their hierarchy of values. Finally, the students should be asked to decide on what actions they *should* take. Figure 2 illustrates the decision-making process.

One group of children may conclude that above all else they value the unique aspects of the Black school culture, and that they will work to oppose forced bussing because they believe that important elements of their culture will not be retained in the predominantly white setting. They might decide to form a pressure group committee to rally support for their cause. Possible action may include presenting their case before the school board, threatening to boycott classes if their school is closed, and planning a march downtown to dramatize their grievances. Other children in the class may decide that while they value their Black school culture, above all else they value the best learning opportunities possible. They feel that because of the better physical facilities in the predominantly white school, they will be able to learn more in the new setting.

FIGURE 2

THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

A. Decision Problem: What actions should we take regarding forced bussing?
B. Related Knowledge: (Identify relevant concepts and generalizations)
C. Value Positions: (Clarification and identification)
D. Identifying Alternatives: Predicting consequences of each
E. Ordering Alternatives: Which is most consistent with value position identified above?
   1.
   2.
   3.
   4.
   5.
   6.
F. *Acting:* (In a way consistent with values: willingness to accept possible consequences of action chosen).

They will therefore support forced bussing by sending a letter to the school board expressing their support for the bussing plan.

While each child in the class should be encouraged to make his own decisions, he should be required to responsibly defend them, state their possible consequences (and the evidence on which he made the predictions), and be willing to accept the consequences of his actions.

## Training Effective Teachers of Decision-Making and Social Action Skills

For teachers to help Black students to develop proficiency in decision-making and social action skills, some changes must be made in teacher education. We must do a better job of helping teachers to understand the nature of science and the structures of the various social sciences. Teachers who are unfamiliar with the limitations and assumptions of social science cannot plan meaningful social action units. Because many teachers are unaware of the nature of historical knowledge, they teach historical facts as absolutes and tentative sociological findings as conclusive theories.

During their training, teachers must learn the ways in which bias affects historical accounts, the problems of building historical generalizations, and the nature of concepts in history. When they study such fields as sociology, anthropology, political science, and economics, they must not only master the findings of these disciplines, they should also examine the various ways in which social scientists gather and verify data.

A study of the modes of inquiry used in the social sciences and the problems which social scientists experience in validating empirical propositions will help teachers to understand how tentative social knowledge is. They should also gain an appreciation for its level of development. Many teachers elevate social knowledge to a status far beyond that which is warranted. Teachers, like their students, can become intelligent consumers of social knowledge only when they realize how tentative, limited, and culturally biased it is.

By studying the various theories of *culture* that anthropologists have structured, the different conceptualizations of *socialization* which sociologists embrace, and conflicting historical interpretations and accounts, teachers will gain the kind of knowledge about the social sciences which is imperative if they are to become effective leaders in social studies programs which focus on decision-making and social action.

Too many students become teachers without knowing the status of knowledge in the social sciences, its limitations, and the *assumptions* on which it is based. Many do not know that we have no grand empirical theories in the social sciences but only low level and partial ones. Teachers are often unaware of the *racist* assumptions on which much social research is based, and the ways in which social scientists often write highly distorted descriptions of ethnic minority groups under the banner of "objectivity." The meaning of *objectivity* and how it is derived should be considered when teachers study the nature of science. Statements in history are typically defined as *objective* if white established historians can agree on them. Many myths, such as, "Columbus discovered America," and "Corrupted Northern whites and ignorant Blacks *ruled* the South during Reconstruction," have been perpetuated by white "scholars" and historians. In recent years, historians have been challenged by Blacks and other ethnic minority groups to write different versions of history which are based on new assumptions about the colored peoples of America and the contributions which they have made to this country.

*Social science reflects the norms, values, and goals of the ruling and powerful groups in society; it validates those belief systems which are functional for groups in power and dysfunctional for oppressed and powerless groups.* Research which is antithetical to the interests of ruling and powerful groups is generally ignored by the scientific community and the society which supports it. This fact explains why L. S. B. Leakey's seminal findings about man's African origins have never been popular among established anthropologists and within the larger society.[9] On the other hand, for generations historians elevated Ulrich B. Phillips' racist descriptions of the nature of slavery to the status of conclusive truth.[10]

Sociologists produced "proof" of the natural inferiority of the Negro in the nineteenth century in order to justify the oppression of the Black man. Lothrop Stoddard, in his *Rising Tide of Color,* developed the thesis that there are higher and lower races, whose intermixture produces a race which reverts to the lower type.[11] Myths such as those invented by Phillips and Stoddard were institutionalized in America because they were consistent with the value systems and self-interests of powerful ruling white groups (the slave masters and their descendants).

Racist social science myths are still being invented and institutionalized in America in order to justify the exploitation of powerless ethnic minority groups. In a perceptive essay, Sizemore documents the way in which recent research by such social scientists as Banfield, Jensen, and Moynihan distorts Black culture and supports prevailing racist myths and ideologies.[12] Jensen would have probably been ridiculed if he had argued that Blacks were intellectually superior to whites. (The evidence for either argument is highly inconclusive.) However, his research was widely publicized[13] and defended by some scholars because it validates the ideas and stereotypes which many whites have of the Black man and his culture. As Sizemore points out, "Jensen's work for the Black man is useless and false."[14] However, it is highly functional for powerful white groups because it provides them with "scientific" reasons to deny Black children equal educational opportunities. *Teachers must be acutely aware of the ways in which social science research has been twisted and distorted to serve the self-interests of ruling and dominant groups if they are to become effective teachers of Black and other powerless ethnic minorities.*

In addition to becoming knowledgeable about the nature of social science and the racist assumptions on which much of it is based, teachers should also become familiar with the organizing concepts and theories within the disciplines and their various modes of inquiry. Social science majors often enter methods courses without knowing the conceptual frameworks and inquiry modes which distinguish one discipline from another. The reason seems to lie in the kinds of undergraduate social science courses which they take prior to entering colleges of education. The emphasis in such courses is most often on social science findings and low-level, isolated facts. The students are rarely challenged to relate discrete facts to systems of concepts and theories. Such high level instruction is usually reserved for graduate training in the social sciences. Many students who have taken a bloc of courses in political science are able to state many isolated facts about the United States Constitution and the legal systems of other nations, but are rarely able to identify and define such key political science concepts as *power, legitimacy,* and *authority.*

and thus cannot plan strategies to help children to learn these key ideas.

The social science component of teacher education must focus on the nature of science and the structures and theories of the various disciplines. The emphasis should be on inquiry modes and higher levels of knowledge. In interdisciplinary courses, teachers should study theories that are related to such key concepts as *culture, power, scarcity, socialization, spatial interaction,* and *perception.* A field-oriented course in methods of social research should be taken by all social studies teachers. If students entered methods courses with a knowledge of the nature of science, more of the time in such courses could be spent on teaching strategies. Methods professors often find it necessary to spend a disproportionate amount of time on the nature of science and the structures of the various disciplines because students often lack this knowledge when they enroll in the professional course. Teachers must know the nature of social science and the organizing ideas within the disciplines to intelligently identify and select those concepts and generalizations which will *best* help students to make sound decisions on social issues.

To successfully teach decision-making and social action skills, the teacher must also be able and willing to help students to deal rationally with *value* problems and conflicts. The goal of moral education should be to equip students with a *method* for deriving and clarifying their values in a reflective manner, and not to force them to accept what teachers consider the "right" values. Values which are usually considered the "right" ones are those which are verbally endorsed by ruling white groups, but which these groups contradict in their actions. Values which are functional for ethnic minority cultures are rarely perpetuated in the school. Didactic approaches to moral education, which most teachers use, are unsound because they fail to help students to learn a *process* for handling value conflicts. Also, standards which guide a person's life must be *freely* chosen from alternatives, and after thoughtful consideration of the consequences of the alternatives.[15]

To equip teachers with the skills and perceptions that will enable them to play an effective role in moral education will not be an easy task. Many teachers feel that the values which they *verbally* endorse should be the ones which students—whether Black or white—should inculcate, and that the school should facilitate their acquisition of those values. Most teachers do not accept the fact that values which are functional for ruling and powerful white groups may be dysfunctional for Black and other oppressed ethnic minority persons. Many teachers believe that *all* children should respect the policeman and the fireman, and that children should *always* be honest. It may be impossible for a Black child to respect policemen as a group when he knows that some policemen sometimes kill Black people when they rebel against the racist nature of American society. For many Black ghetto children to respect policemen would be not only impossible but abnormal.

It may also be impossible and dysfunctional for an exploited group to *always* value honesty as defined by the oppressor. The victims of a dishonest and inhumane racist society, powerless groups such as Blacks often find that to act in a way which the dominant group would define as honest is antithetical to their existence. The slave masters often denied the slaves the food which they had produced and needed for survival. When slaves were forced to take from slave masters the food which they had raised, the masters defined their behavior as dishonest. Thus the slave who valued his life could not at the same time behave in a way which would be regarded by the master as honest. This same kind of situation exists today. When Blacks burned down stores in their neighborhoods which exploited them to vent hostility and to bring their plight to the attention of policy makers, many people who had power regarded their actions as immoral. Teachers must realize that the exploited and the exploiter often use different reference points when determining whether a particular value exists. Behavior which the oppressor regards as immoral may be seen as highly moral by the oppressed. However, one of the reasons that exploited ethnic minority groups are powerless today is that they have too often accepted the definitions of values which whites imposed on them. Black Americans have been a rather peaceful and moral people. In contrast, while slave masters were teaching Blacks to be peaceful, they were using violence against them to maintain their power and to reap economic gains from Black labor.

Different values may also be functional for different cultures and social situations. One teacher told the author about an incident which occurred in his ghetto classroom. A student ran to the teacher and told him that someone had stolen his money. Rather than humiliating all of the other students by searching them, the teacher told the student that one of the things which he had to learn in order to survive was how to protect his property and to defend himself. In that school culture, the protection of one's property was often a higher value than honesty. I should add—for those who might be bothered by this anecdote—that honesty is not a value which is endorsed by most Americans. The real value—as opposed to the expressed one—is to *appear* honest and not to get caught behaving dishonestly. The story about the middle-class white father who was reprimanding his son for stealing pencils at school illustrates this point. The father told the son that he didn't have to steal pencils at school because he could bring him an ample supply from his office.

I am not suggesting that teachers should teach children to be dishonest. However, I believe that no values are functional for all times, settings, and cultures. Raths, Harmin, and Simon write

> Because life is different through time and space, we cannot be certain what experiences any person will have. We therefore cannot be certain what values, what style of life, would be the most suitable for any person. We do, however, have some ideas about what *processes* might be the most effective for obtaining values.[16]

The emphasis in moral education for Black as well as white students should be on *process* rather than specific products.

To train teachers who can successfully teach children a *process* for obtaining and testing values, we must first help them to see why value education within a social studies curriculum which focuses on decision-making and social action is imperative. We must also help them to derive their *own* positions on moral education, and equip them with strategies for teaching value lessons. Teachers must realize that the position on value education which is endorsed by the author is not a neutral one. *Rather, it is deeply value-laden. The highest value in this position is that students in different cultures and in each generation should have the right to choose those values which they feel are most consistent with their needs and goals.* This position assumes that different values might be functional for different cultural and ethnic groups, and for dominant groups at different points in time.

As in any other instructional program, the teacher within the proposed social studies program would be asked to take a *definite* value position which would guide his teaching. The teacher who would find the value position stated above unacceptable obviously could not be effective in the type of social studies program proposed in this chapter. Most teachers have not seriously examined the value positions on which their teaching is based, or thought seriously about their possible consequences. Serious reflection about values held and their possible consequences can often lead to commitments to embrace new values and beliefs. During their training, teachers should be asked to examine their value assumptions and positions, to consider alternative ones, and the possible consequences of different values. *Value analysis and clarification must be an essential component of a sound teacher education program.* Teachers who are confused about their own values, and who possess values which have not been reflectively examined, cannot help students to clarify and examine their beliefs.

To fully understand and appreciate the decision-making process, and therefore to effectively teach it to students, teachers must be provided opportunities whereby they can use the social science concepts and theories which they have mastered to resolve social issues in ways which are consistent with their values. Teachers should also be provided opportunities for social action in which they can implement some of the decisions which they make. *It would be unrealistic to expect teachers to fully appreciate the importance of social action projects if during their training program they are not given opportunities to participate in such activities themselves.* The synthesis of knowledge and clarified values into decision-making and social action projects can take place in the professional methods course. Students can select problems related to such social issues as ecology, racism, war, and poverty, and plan courses of actions which they could implement within the university or the local community. Some methods professors send their students out into the community to collect data to teach them how the social scientist studies society. Such professors realize that the best way for students to learn something is to do it. This same principle applies to decision-making and social action. The social studies methods course must take students out into the community not only to *study* problems but to take *action* to resolve them. Such action will not only equip teachers with the skills which they need to help children become effective change agents, but it can result in social changes that will make this a more humane and just society.

Only by training teachers who can help Black students to become adept decision-makers and effective social activists will they be able to liberate themselves from physical and psychological oppression. Their liberation might be the salvation of our confused and divided society.

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## FOOTNOTES

[1] See Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965); James Baldwin, *Notes of a Native Son* (New York: Bantam Books, 1955); Malcolm X (with the assistance of Alex Haley), *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Grove Press, 1964); and Claude Brown, *Manchild in the Promised Land* (New York: Signet Books, 1965).

[2] Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 64.

[3] Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie P. Clark, "Emotional Factors in Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children," *Journal of Negro Education* XIX (1950), pp. 341-350.

[4] Donald H. Smith, "The Black Revolution and Education," in Robert L. Green (Editor), *Racial Crisis in American Education* (Chicago: Follett Educational Corporation, 1969), p. 66.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Fred M. Newmann, "Political Socialization in the Schools," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXXVIII (Summer, 1969), p. 536.

[7] This generalization is quoted from John U. Michaelis and A. Montgomery Johnston (Editors), *The Social Sciences: Foundations of the Social Studies* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1965), p. 327.

[8] James A. Banks (with contributions by Ambrose A. Clegg, Jr.), *Teaching Strategies for the Social Studies: Inquiry, Valuing and Decision-Making* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, in press).

[9] L.S.B. Leakey, *White African* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1966).

[10] Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York: Appleton, 1918).

[11] Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color Against White-World Supremacy* (New York: Scribner's, 1920).

[12] Barbara A. Sizemore, "Social Science and Education for a Black Identity," in James A. Banks and Jean Dresden Grambs (Editors), *Black Self-Concept: Implications for Education and Social Science* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), pp. 141-170.

[13] The prestigious *Harvard Educational Review* devoted an entire issue to Mr. Jensen's work. See Arthur S. Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?", *Harvard Educational Review*, XXXIX (Winter, 1969), pp. 1-123.

[14] Sizemore, *op cit.*, p. 153.

[15] Louis E. Raths, Merrill Harmin, Sidney B. Simon, *Values and Teaching* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1966), p. 28.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

## SUGGESTED REFERENCES

Russell L. Adams, *Great Negroes Past and Present* (Chicago: Afro-Am Publishing Company, 1970).

This popular book contains one of the best collections of biographical sketches of Black Americans which is available. It will prove especially useful to teachers and students who are looking for information about famous Black Americans.

Helen A. Archibald, *Negro History and Culture: Selections for Use with Children* (Chicago: Community Renewal Society, undated).

This useful handbook for teachers contains numerous examples of materials which can be used to teach about the Black experience.

Ronald W. Bailey and Janet C. Saxe, *Teaching Black: An Evaluation of Methods and Materials* (Stanford, California: Multi-Ethnic Education Resources Center of Stanford U., 1971).

This extremely valuable book includes chapters on Black history and teaching the Black experience. Most of the book consists of an evaluation of a national sample of 40 curriculum packages which deal with the Black experience, all of which are available on microfiche. This volume is indispensable for teachers and curriculum specialists who are searching for excellent curriculum materials which treat the Black man's struggle in America.

August Baker, *The Black Experience in Children's Books* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1971).

The volume is an excellent guide to books for young people which deal with the Black American.

James A. Banks and Jean D. Grambs (Editors), *Black Self-Concept: Implications for Education and Social Science* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972).

This collection of original essays contains papers which present divergent and controversial views regarding the status of the Black concept today and the role of educators in shaping the positive development of Black children and youths. One chapter is devoted to the political socialization of Black youths.

James A. Banks, *March Toward Freedom: A History of Black Americans* (Belmont, Calif.: Fearon Publishers, 1970).

Written especially for teenagers, this illustrated history of the Black American can also be profitably read by teachers.

James A. Banks, *Teaching The Black Experience: Methods and Materials* (Belmont, Calif.: Fearon Publishers, 1970).

This handbook illustrates ways in which the teacher can incorporate the Black experience into the social studies curriculum. Historical and anthropological approaches, inquiry exercises, and simulation games are among the topics included. An annotated bibliography constitutes the concluding chapter.

James A. Banks and William W. Joyce (Editors), *Teaching Social Studies to Culturally Different Children* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1971).

Articles in this anthology explore effective ways to use simulation, sociodrama, and other strategies to teach about ethnic minority cultures.

Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America: 1619-1964* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967).

Written by a journalist who is a specialist in Black history, this popular book presents an interesting and highly readable account of the Black pilgrimage in America.

Larry Cuban, *The Black Man in America* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1971).

This volume contains an excellent collection of documents which are designed for use by students in the junior high and high school grades. The author provides perceptive commentaries.

Leslie H. Fishel and Benjamin Quarles (Editors), *The Black American: A Documentary History* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1970).

This book contains an outstanding collection of eyewitness accounts on many aspects of the Black American's history. It is a valuable resource for the teacher.

John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Black Americans* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967).

This book, which has attained the status of a classic, is still regarded as the best general history of the Black American.

Barbara Jean Glancy, *Children's Interracial Fiction: An Unselective Bibliography* (Washington, D. C.: American Federation of Teachers, 1969).

This book contains a comprehensive list of fictional books about Black Americans for young readers. It includes annotations and grade-level recommendations.

Jean D. Grambs and John C. Carr (Editors), *Black Image: Education Copes with Color* (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1972).

This anthology contains a collection of stimulating essays which deal exclusively with the treatment of Black Americans in teaching materials. Included are a chapter on change strategies and several comprehensive bibliographies.

Jean D. Grambs, *Intergroup Education: Methods and Materials* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968).

This book presents a rationale for structuring intergroup education programs and strategies for implementing a multiracial curriculum. The extensive bibliography and open-ended stories make this volume especially useful to classroom teachers.

*International Library of Negro Life and History* (Miami, Florida: International Book Corp., 1967, 1968).

This library of 10 volumes, sponsored by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, contains a gold mine of information about diverse areas of the Black experience which elementary and high school students can profitably read.

*Interracial Books for Children* (Published quarterly by the Council on Interracial Books for Children, 9 East 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016).

The teacher who is looking for fictional and informational books for young people written by ethnic minority authors will find this publication especially useful.

Miles M. Jackson, *A Bibliography of Negro History and Culture for Young People* (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969).

This bibliography is a comprehensive guide to books for young people which deal with Black Americans. Both fictional and informational books are annotated.

William L. Katz, *Teacher's Guide to American Negro History* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968).

This guide will help the classroom teacher to integrate Black history into the regular American history course. The excellent bibliographies within this book makes it worthwhile.

Minnie W. Koblitz, *The Negro in Schoolroom Literature: Resource Materials for the Teacher of Kindergarten Through Sixth Grade* (New York: The Center for Urban Education, 1967).

Although slightly dated, this is one of the finest annotated bibliographies of books for young people which relate to the Black American.

Thomas T. Lyons, *Black Leadership in American History* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1971).

Written for high school students, this book contains informative discussions of the leadership styles of Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Alphonso Pinkney, *Black Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

This scholarly and readable book treats the Black experience from an interdisciplinary perspective. It is an excellent introduction to Black history and culture.

Harry Ploski and Roscoe C. Brown, *Afro USA: A Reference Work on the Black Experience* (New York: Bellwether Publishing Company, 1971).

This book is a revised and expanded version of the highly useful *Negro Almanac*, which was published in 1967. The new edition is as valuable as the earlier book, and will provide teachers and students with vital information about Black contributions, organizations, education, history, legal status, and many other topics. This unique book contains 1110 pages.

Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Making of America* (New York: Collier Books, 1969).

A highly readable, scholarly, and comprehensive history of the Black American. This book is a good "first" for the Black history novice.

Erwin K. Salk, *A Layman's Guide to Negro History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967).

This book contains a comprehensive, annotated list of a wide variety of materials which the teacher can use to make the social studies curriculum more vital.

Irving J. Sloan, *Blacks in America, 1492-1970: A Chronology & Fact Book* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, 1971).

Teachers will find this unique book very useful. It contains a selected bibliography on Black history, an outline of Black history, and important lists such as "Major Black American Organizations," and "Museums and Monuments of Afro-American Interest."

John A. Williams and Charles F. Harris (Editors), *Amistad I* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970).

This stimulating anthology contains fiction as well as informational essays which the teacher will find both helpful and enjoyable.

Charles A. Valentine, *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

This book contains one of the most perceptive critiques of prevailing theories of poverty and perceptions of the poor that's available. It will provide the teacher with new ways to view the experiences of ethnic minority groups who are victimized by poverty.

Cerveza Ballantine
está allí
LA PLAYA DE LUQUILLO

# 7. Geography, Social Action and the Black Community

O. Fred Donaldson and George A. Davis

O. Fred Donaldson *was born in Detroit, Michigan, and received his B.A. and M.A. in geography at Wayne State University. He is working towards a Ph.D. degree in geography at the University of Washington and is currently preparing a dissertation focused on the movement of urban Black population. He now teaches in the Geography Department at California State College, Hayward. He has been and is involved in the development of geographic materials focused on Black Americans and urban children. His teaching experience includes teaching Geography and Black Studies at North Carolina Central University and the University of Washington, as well as in the TTT Project in Urban Education at the University of Washington. He relates, however, that his most exciting teaching experience has been at the pre-school level.*

George A. Davis *is working toward a Ph.D. in social studies education and geography at the Ohio State University. He holds a bachelor's degree in history and sociology from Kentucky State College and a master's degree in social studies education from Ohio State. He is currently an Assistant Professor in the Division of Black Studies at Ohio State University. Among his many activities and professional experiences in recent years, Mr. Davis has served as a member of the executive board of the National Council for Geographic Education and as an associate director of the Commission on Geography and Afro-America of the Association of American Geographers. He taught social studies at Everett Junior High School in Columbus, Ohio, and has held positions as an Assistant Professor of Geography at Ball State University and as a teacher and lecturer in penal institutions in Ohio. Among his publications are "This Is Man" (with Vincent R. Rogers), "Man and Society" (with Herbert J. Bass), and "Man and His World" (with George H. T. Kimble). He is currently working with O. Fred Donaldson on a forthcoming book entitled* The Geography of Black America.

■

Geography need no longer be considered the travelog of the sixth grade nor the "slow learner's history" of the eighth grade. Geography courses can be both academic and pragmatic. They can incorporate both learning and doing experiences. The classroom can be dragged into the street while, at the same time, the street rampages into the classroom.

With the kind of involvement suggested here the classroom will no longer be a walled enclave of protection from the outside community. Not only may such topics as racial housing patterns, school bussing, political boundaries, location of health and recreation facilities, and food prices be of concern to the community, but they may also be studied and attacked using geographic methods and concepts.

The purpose of this chapter is to indicate some ways of integrating the concepts of geography with the substantive material of the Black experience. The suggestions set forth here are not aimed at a particular age group. They are presented with the goal that they be adapted to the needs and abilities of students through the elementary and secondary grades. Although it will not be illustrated in this chapter, the same concepts and methods discussed herein can be made relevant for other groups such as Chicanos, Indians, or Chinese, for example. In many cities the use of multi-ethnic subject matter would be best.

Unfortunately, geographers have paid insufficient attention to those groups with a sub-culture which differs from that of the predominantly white middle class in America. The use of the local environment as a laboratory has a long tradition in geography. This interest, however, has stressed economic, physical, and agricultural aspects of the environment. It should be stressed that there are very few, if any, local environments, rural or urban, that do not provide laboratories for the study of the spatial dimensions of race relations. This is particularly the case in urban schools serving Black children.

Somehow educators have come to believe and act as if Black children are born without curiosity. Curiosity can be stamped out of the child by his environment, of which the school is a part. "Children are wild flowers. Teachers think them weeds and root them up to civilize them."[1]

In many cases, it is possible to attract the inner-city student's attention by referring to familiar areas. Whatever the nature of the initiatory exercises, the content should have a close connection to the experiences and concerns of students. If these experiences are to evoke responses from students, learning materials need to include activities which in themselves are reassuring and rewarding.

Traditional geographic literature can provide the concepts but it does not contain the substantive content material for the type of geography class suggested here. Instead, one must stress the facts of life in the Black community. If one looks at traditional geographical material, it would seem that geographers have made the assumption that only certain environments are geographic and thus worthy of inclusion in geography books. The Black world has not been such an environment; yet it is an invaluable source of geographic information.

Three assumptions are basic to the approach taken in this chapter. They might be thought to be common sense except for the fact that geographic literature does not reflect this kind of thinking. First, every environment is geographic. Second, every person is a geographer. And third, all people do not see or act in their environments in the same way, nor are their environments identical.

Children are explorers, players, learners, teachers, and geographers—at least before they go to school. This freedom, individuality, and exuberance with which a child experiences his environment is thought by the school and adults to be romantic, poetic, unreal, unprofessional, and "un-geographical." We say that a geographer must be trained. How turned around our educational system has become; the real geographers are destroyed by age six. In effect, the educational system starts out with a magnificent geographer, teaches him geography, and turns out a non-geographer.

The stress in this chapter will be on the use of the geographic concepts of regions and boundaries. First, we present some examples of the presence of these concepts in Black literature. This approach, in effect, moves the street and community into the classroom. This section is followed by some illustrations of using these same concepts as the basis for research on a local problem.

As any beginning geography student knows, the related concepts of regions and boundaries are fundamental whether one is stressing the more traditional "place"-oriented geography or the newer "behavioral geography. The regionalization of America into Black and white is reflected in the literature and expressive forms of Black Americans.

The essence of this regionalization, for example, has been expressed in the title of a recent book, *The Other City,*[2] and in songs such as *My Neighborhood* by John W. Anderson—Kasondra,[3] and Lou Rawls' *South Side Blues,*[4] and in poems such as *Restrictive Covenants* by Langston Hughes.

RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS

When I move
Into a neighborhood
Folks fly
Even every foreigner
That can move, moves

Why?

The moon doesn't run
Neither does the sun
In Chicago they've got covenants
Restricting me—

Hemmed in
On the south side,
Can't breathe free.
But the wind blows there.

I reckon the wind
Must care.

*Langston Hughes*[5]

The socio-spatial process that brings about the dual regions has been accurately described by Nellie Holloway when she wrote that " 'I'm locked in the outsides of the white man's world . . .' "[6] This realization of the division between ghetto and beyond is present in "Message to Urban Sightseers" by Jesus Papoleto Milendez:

Hey, you!
sightseer
from
Smalltown, Nowhere, U.S. of A.
Bring your head
down,
Your eyes off those TALL,
business buildings.

Look-a-here,
sightseer,
Sightsee—I'm a sight—;
a sight to be seen
by your sore eyes . . .[7]

Big Charlie, a Black, blind jazz musician in Hentoff's *Jazz Country* explains his freedom in Texas as follows: "To be safe, I got to stay out of the white folk's neighborhood, but I got it worked out so that within my own territory I'm my own man."[8] Allan's drawing of his neighborhood is another striking example of the perception of socio-spatial regions and boundaries based on race.[9] The white side of the street has the sun, grass, trees, and bigger, more sturdy houses in contrast to the dirt and makeshift houses on the Black side. The street is pictured as a highway which "you're not supposed to cross over"; this barrier effect was drawn in as a red light placed on the Black side of the street.[10]

This sense of social and spatial differentiation is often felt by the child as isolation.

The world outside of my window is
like an unknown place
like I'm in space
like I come from out of nowhere

*Robert Pierce*[11]

The ghetto also has an internal regionalization that is unknown to the outside white society. It may be divided, for example, into regions based on allegiance to various gangs such as Vice Lords, Cobras, Blackstone Rangers, and many others.[12] The nation of the Vice Lords is divided into "branches" each with its own territory or "hood." Control of a given "hood" (neighborhood) involves the "owning of certain institutions like theatres and the responsibility for protection of the various parts of a gang's territory." In order to carry out this responsibility the various Vice Lord sections must have intimate knowledge and sense or feeling for their particular piece of territory.[13]

This same type of regional differentiation aimed at more effective control was used by the Black Panthers in Los Angeles in their 10-10-10 concept.[14] In this spatial scheme, the city was divided into ten large areas, each of which was then subdivided into ten smaller regions, and then each of these was further divided into ten sections.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that the examples of allegiance to gangs and of the 10-10-10 concept refer to some ghetto dwellers and not to all. Many ghetto dwellers do not operate within these patterns.

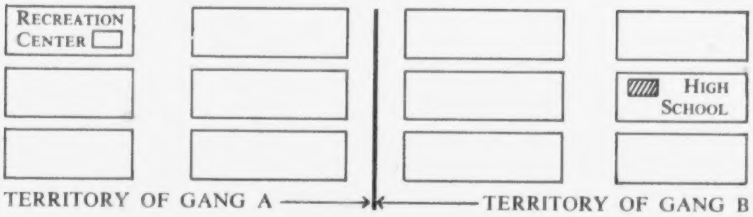
This feeling and intimate knowledge of the streets has been expressed by Claude Brown as follows:

> I used to feel that I belonged on the Harlem streets,
> and that, regardless of what I did, nobody had any
> business to take me off the streets.
> I remember when I ran away from shelters, places that
> they sent me to, here in the city. I never ran away
> with the thought in mind of coming home. I always
> ran away to get back on the streets. I always thought
> of Harlem as home, but I never thought of Harlem as
> being in the house. To me home was in the streets.[15]

Also, to an insider like Duke, " 'I can feel when the street get a certain kind of quiet you know or it got a kind of feel.' "[16] Feelings may remain intense as the image of a place changes with time and events. For Eldridge Cleaver the Black rebellion of 1965 altered the image of Watts.

> Watts was a place of shame. We used to use Watts as an epithet in much the same way as city boys used "country" as a term of derision. To deride one as a "lame," who did not know what was happening (a rustic bumpkin), the "incrowd" of the time from L.A. would bring a cat down by saying that he had just left Watts, that he ought to go back to Watts until he had learned what was happening, or that he had just stolen enough money to move out of Watts and was already trying to play a cool part. But now, blacks are seen in Folsom saying, "I'm from Watts, Baby!"—whether true or no, but I think the meaning is clear. Confession: I, too, have participated in this game, saying, I'm from Watts. In fact, I did live there for a time, and I'm proud of it, the tired lamentations of Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins, and The Preacher notwithstanding.[17]

This sense of regionalism also plays a role in the inhabitants' mobility and use of space. In Philadelphia, for example, gang turfs were the determining factor in a family's decision to remain in their house rather than move. The decision was the result of the fact that the sons belonged to the 13th Street gang and the "new" house was in the territory of the 2nd Street gang.[18]



The above diagram shows a neighborhood that includes the dividing line of two gang territories in a Midwestern city. It is interesting to note that the entire area within one school district has one recreational facility and under normal circumstances one might expect quite a bit of movement between the two facilities. The problem becomes especially acute on weekends and after school when those members of group B want to use the recreational facility; as a result there are frequent fights to use this space.

These few examples indicate that boundaries and regions are part of the inner-city environment, even though geographers have yet to discover them. Each person inhabits a spatial world in which objects and people are located, separated, and connected. Many of these connections, separations, and locations are influenced or determined by race relations.

The structure of geography is particularly well suited for teaching the type of program suggested in this chapter. First, social studies classes are taught at all grade levels. Second, the chorographic emphasis of geography lends itself to the activities which do not depend necessarily on either verbal or mathematical symbolism. There is evidence that mapmaking activities capture the imagination and the interest of students who had been thought to be hopeless cases of disinterest and apathy in schools. The High School Geography Project has found that its most successful activity was one in which students used a map as a base and built models of urban settlement. Project teachers reported student enthusiasm increased dramatically when they engaged in such activities. Especially noticeable was the increased participation of the type of students with low achievement records.

## "Graphicacy"

Geography, more than any other subject, provides the student with a greater number of opportunities to learn. Geography lends itself to graphic as well as verbal skills. Teaching geography relies heavily upon "graphicacy."[19] Graphicacy, a new word coined by two British writers, is defined as the intellectual skill necessary for the communication of relationships which cannot be successfully communicated by words or mathematical notation alone. Students can progress by easy stages to greater graphical sophistication and abstraction so that maps, aerial photos, and diagrams are a part of their areas of competence.

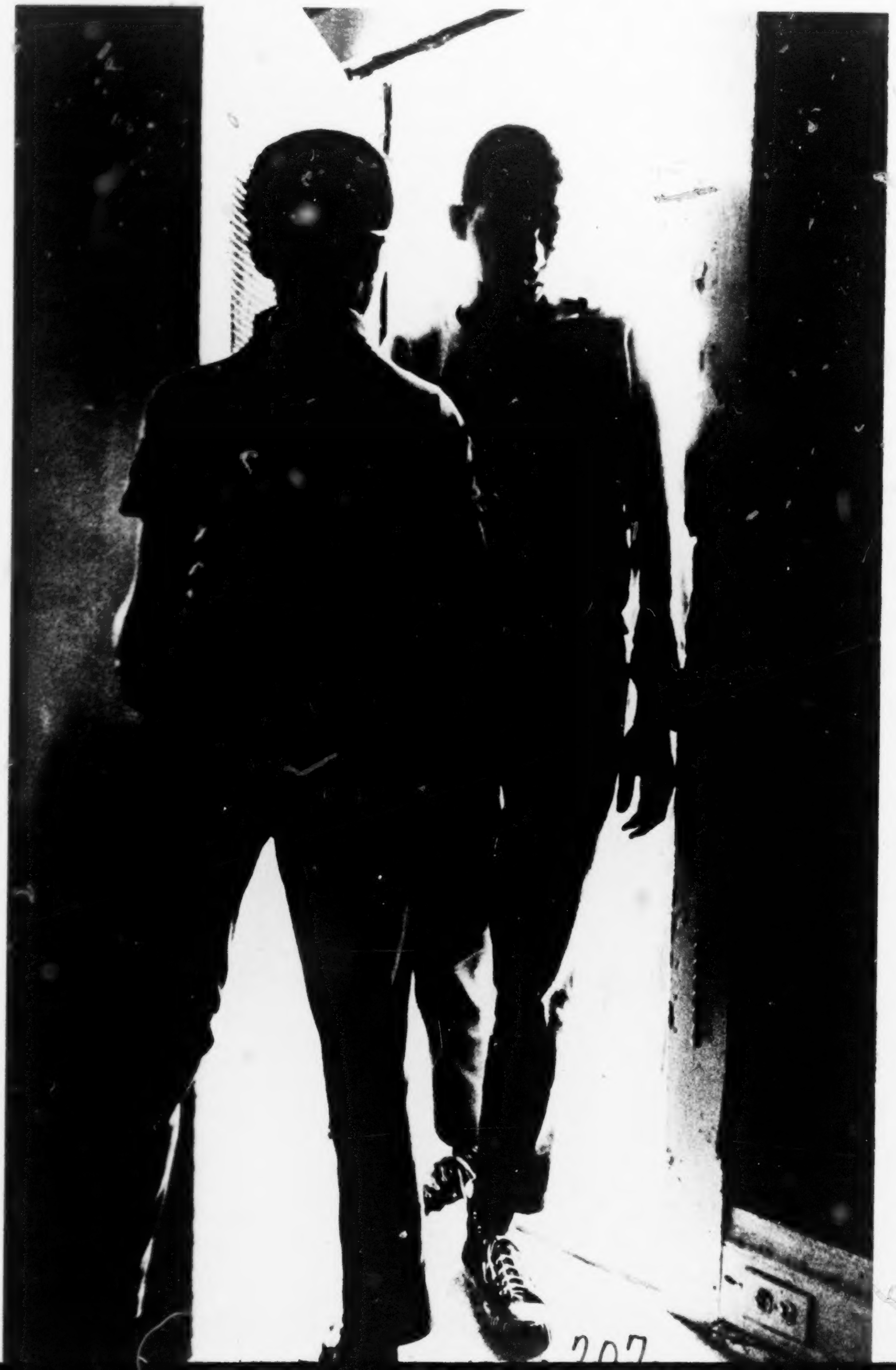
The components of the map as a teaching tool are extremely useful in education. First, the map with its symbols is usually a simpler tool than a written composition. It is appropriate to note what Greenhood has written about mapping: "Mapmaking is a kind of authorship. Maps, like stories, have main themes, point of view, plot and style."[20] In essence the definition of what constitutes a map must not be restrictive. Children are likely to conceive of "maps" as sophisticated cartographic layouts and not their own "drawings." Children are skilled at drawing maps, but perhaps not so skilled in making them conform to the conception of what a "map" is supposed to look like. This reflects what Mayer has called "the general failure to recognize drawing as an intellectual tool."[21]

Psychologists have said that the concrete operational stage exists from age seven to age eleven. The system evolves during this period to provide a mental structure increasingly capable of developing concepts from representative thought. Many students arrive at school with a high degree of familiarity with the concrete and they should be encouraged to build on that strength.

Concrete experiences encourage students to understand concepts and form generalizations that in turn become the tools of learning. Students interview, gather data from published sources, and use all of their senses in fieldwork. From their experiences, they form generalizations to which some refer to as abstractions. When the pupils are presented with new experiences they are encouraged to apply the generalizations to these new situations.[22]

All students need certain basic cognitive skills to process information and develop insight into relationships between facts and concepts. In order for learning to take place students need to be motivated. Geography is ideally suited to motivate the students and aid them in the development of concepts. The late Hilda Taba in her *Teaching Strategies for the Culturally Disadvantaged* wrote:

> The full development of abstract intelligence depends on the abundance of experience with concrete operations: manipulation of objects possessing concrete data, experimenting with spatial and conceptual relationships and with the transformation of sizes and shapes. Cognitive potential is developed to the degree that such stimulation is systematic and has order and to the degree that the transformation of the concepts is mediated or helped along by adults.[23]



Moving the classroom into the street and the community is not an easy task, and this chapter is not meant to pretend that it is. As any experienced teacher knows, it is much easier to write about a course of action than to actually *do* something.

The teacher will probably become a learner in the process of undertaking the kind of project described here. As Wisniewski has pointed out, the teacher must learn about life in his students' communities.[24] In such a situation the roles of teacher and student ideally become somewhat interchangeable with students helping teachers to learn about their community. The teacher helps the student to develop skills with which he can ask questions, synthesize data, and then move to act on the basis of his findings.

A way of beginning such a study is through the use of role playing and gaming. It should be already clear that these methods are suggested with the intent that they lead to further action and do not end in the classroom.

One such game might center on the problem of locating a low-income, public housing project in a hypothetical city. What follows is a general outline of such a game. This game is not a finished product and needs considerable development. The game requires fieldwork, library research, map work, as well as emotional involvement; it can be adapted to meet the needs and abilities of various levels of students.

## *Tenement Housing Project Location Game*

A "blue-ribbon" citizens' group has been chosen by the mayor of "Libertyville" to decide on the location of a new federally funded low-income housing project. The citizens' group will consist of seven people (students) each living in one of the seven neighborhoods listed below and located on the map. The new low-income housing project must be located in one of the seven neighborhoods.

Only certain givens are presented at the beginning; as the game progresses the group may mutually decide upon additional rules. There is a federally appointed director who must approve all rule additions and/or changes and who will act as arbiter when decisions must be made.

The seven neighborhoods are presented as in Table I.

TABLE 1

THE SEVEN NEIGHBORHOODS OF LIBERTYVILLE

| NAME | POPULATION DENSITY | HOME OWNERSHIP | AVERAGE AGE OF STRUCTURE | TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *Center City* | high | rent, some own | most 20+ years | low income<br>Black |
| 2. *Woodlawn* | moderate | own, rent | 10-15 years | univ. area<br>70% white |
| 3. *Bellevue* | low-moderate | own | 10 years | high income<br>99% white |
| 4. *Grosse Pointe* | low | own | most 20+ years | large estates<br>100% white |
| 5. *Georgetown* | moderate-high | rent, some own | 15-20 years | low income<br>90% white |
| 6. *Mid-America* | moderate | rent, own | 10-15 years | middle income<br>100% white |
| 7. *Broadmore West* | high | rent | 1-5 years | high income<br>99% white |

The following is some information on the role that each of the seven students will assume. It is perhaps important to remember that, to a certain degree, each of the following roles is a stereotype.

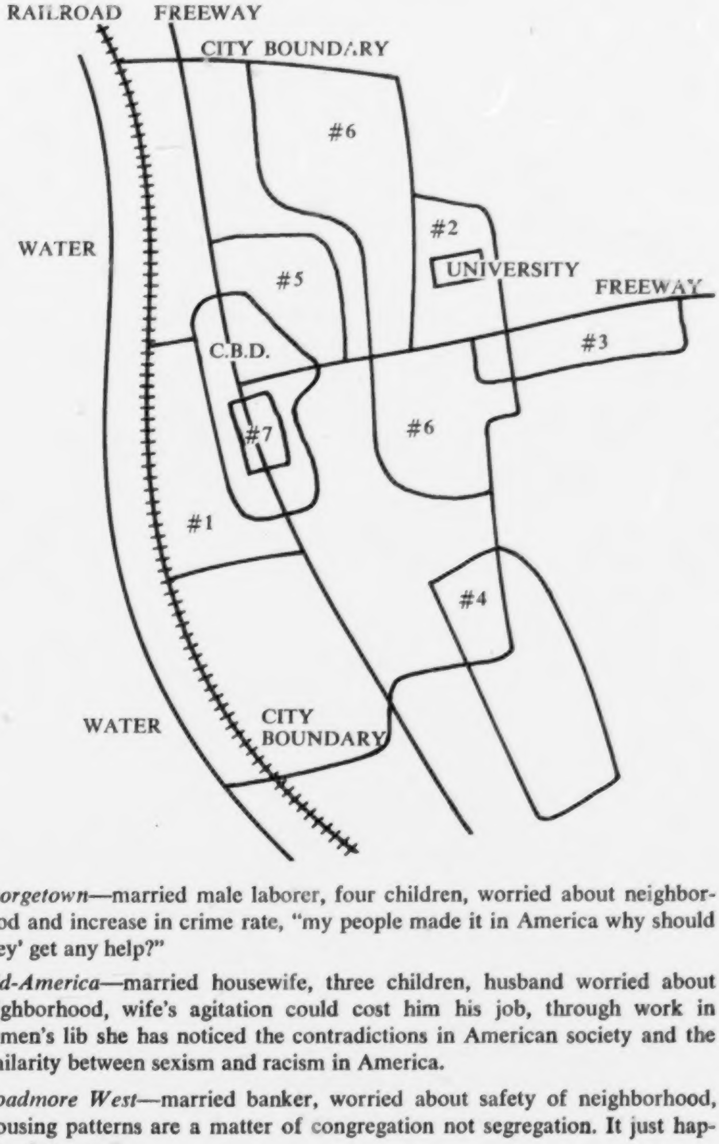
*Center City*—married male laborer, four children, sympathetic to militant welfare rights group, thinks public housing is not an answer based on past experience.

*Woodlawn*—married university professor, one child, long history of civil rights work, committed to nonviolent change through system.

*Bellevue*—married white collar worker, two children, worried about property values, wants to keep community stable, "when I moved here I picked a neighborhood and I don't want it changed."

*Grosse Pointe*—city councilman, married, one child, in city government for ten years, at-large position depends on white voters, old wealthy family, owns extensive rental units in ghetto.

A MAP OF "LIBERTYVILLE"


RAILROAD
FREEWAY
CITY BOUNDARY
#6
WATER
#2
UNIVERSITY
FREEWAY
#5
C.B.D.
#3
#7
#6
#1
#4
WATER
CITY
BOUNDARY

*Georgetown*—married male laborer, four children, worried about neighborhood and increase in crime rate, "my people made it in America why should 'they' get any help?"

*Mid-America*—married housewife, three children, husband worried about neighborhood, wife's agitation could cost him his job, through work in women's lib she has noticed the contradictions in American society and the similarity between sexism and racism in America.

*Broadmore West*—married banker, worried about safety of neighborhood, "housing patterns are a matter of congregation not segregation. It just happens that way."

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Each student is to react in the game as he thinks the person whose role he is playing would act. Research will need to be done by each student to back up his "feelings" about the "proper" location of the project.

At the end of the game each student will turn in the following:

1. a diary including his own personal feelings and how these differ from those of the person that he is "playing"; also noting various positions that he took during the game with the research used to back up those positions in the group debate;
2. the group is to turn in its decision in written form with the reasons for its choice.

Another way of beginning such a program of study is to discuss the geography of the Black community. Questions such as the following might arise:

1. Where is the Black population located? The young? The elderly?
2. Where are the institutions and services that serve or are supposed to serve the community located?
3. Where are the rats?

All of these questions can be answered with the use of maps, and can lead to further inquiry pertaining to regional concepts such as "turf," colony, neighborhood, or gerrymandering.

1. How large is your neighborhood?
2. Where are various "turfs"?
3. Where and what are the boundaries for these social areas?

The region and boundary ideas are in turn likely to lead to a discussion of movement between and within areas.

1. Where do children play? Why?
2. What is the residential movement pattern?
3. What is the pattern of use of existing health and recreation facilities?
4. What is the pattern of school attendance? School bussing?
5. What is the spatial relationship of the urban transportation system to the Black community?

Questions concerning man-environment relations in the ghetto might also be raised.

1. Where are the areas of greatest pollution of various types?
2. Where are the areas of greatest death and disease?

The students' neighborhood can serve as the organizational unit through which these questions are approached. The aims of this type of project are not only to develop skills that are consistently ascribed to social studies courses, but most of all to make the student the prime architect for change in those aspects of his neighborhood which affect his life. Residents of inner city neighborhoods, adults as well as children, are painfully aware that meaningful changes do not occur in their areas. They know that programs are too often planned, structured and implemented for the benefit of people living *outside of their neighborhood.*

There are a number of principles that need to be stressed in this approach. These include the following:

1. Planning takes time, resources, and people.
2. All planned changes are not necessarily good nor do they affect all people in the same way.
3. Neighborhoods are both physical and human environments.
4. The location of man's artifacts is not random.

Specific skills that can be emphasized include:

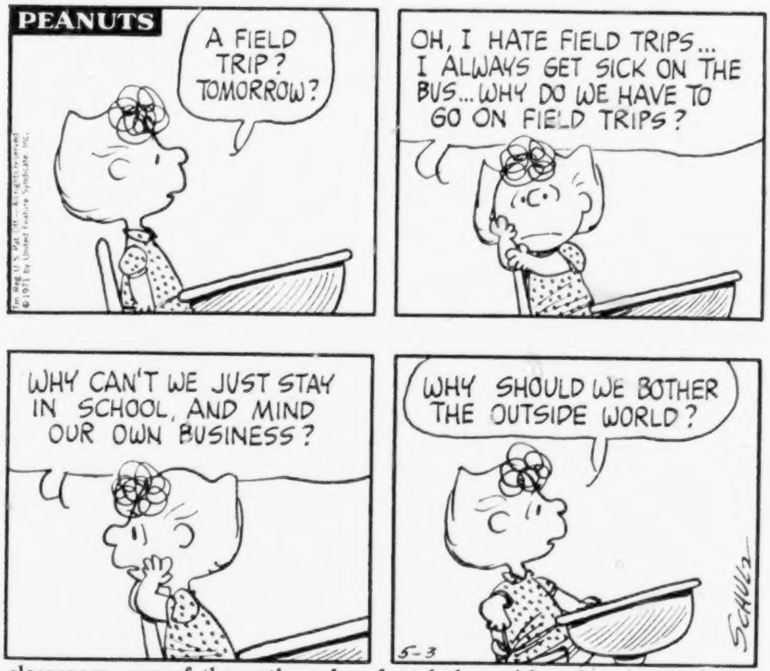
1. Map reading
2. Interviewing
3. Group action
4. Data gathering

Some behavioral objectives would include:

1. To distinguish between a personal and general definition of neighborhood
2. To become aware of a neighborhood as a socio-spatial community
3. To understand the relationship between the neighborhood and the rest of the city.

Two other important points need to be stressed. First, this kind of class is meant to lead to social action: a major goal is to encourage an impact on the community outside of the classroom. Clearly, the teacher should not undertake such a project unless he or she is aware of the potential consequences. Second, throughout the exercise the balance between guidance and interference from the teacher must be delicately maintained. It is crucial that the students be allowed the freedom to choose and act upon their environment from their point of view, even if their judgments do not correspond to those of adults.

One way to initiate this type of exercise is to start with an in-class assignment in which the students are asked to define the term "neighborhood" and to draw a map of their own neighborhood. This can then be followed by a field trip, on which the students actually go into their neighborhoods and map and take notes. Even though it seems that one knows his neighborhood well enough to do this completely from the


PEANUTS
A FIELD TRIP? TOMORROW?
OH, I HATE FIELD TRIPS... I ALWAYS GET SICK ON THE BUS... WHY DO WE HAVE TO GO ON FIELD TRIPS?
WHY CAN'T WE JUST STAY IN SCHOOL, AND MIND OUR OWN BUSINESS?
WHY SHOULD WE BOTHER THE OUTSIDE WORLD?
5-3
SCHULZ

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classroom, one of the authors has found that with university students, some, living in the same house for over twenty years, did not really "know" what they defined as their neighborhoods. Depending on the age and number of students and numerous other factors the teacher and students will want to decide on how the field work is to be done—alone, in small groups, or in one large group. The authors prefer the first and definitely discourage the "parade" effect of the last alternative.

The second alternative is likely to produce the reaction depicted in the *Peanuts* comic strip above.[25]

After the first field trip has been completed class time should then be given to a discussion of the various methods used and the problems encountered. Invariably, people will try different techniques of data gathering, go at varying times, and be cognizant of different aspects of the environment.

The teacher should stress that doing fieldwork involves *all* of one's senses. Students are to note what they see, hear, smell, and feel. It might also be important to note the general weather conditions and time of day at which the trip was taken. In general, the fewer instructions given to the students the better. Though it will involve more time and perhaps emotional energy, the student, by trying different field methods, will become aware of the human reaction to being "studied." For example, a white student who "parades" through a Black neighborhood with a clipboard and large sheets of paper is likely to find that he must change his technique.

It is quite possible that, given a group of students, individual neighborhoods will overlap in places and leave other areas blank. This will provide interesting topics for discussion and research. In those areas of overlap, for example, what are some of the different aspects of the same environment noticed by various students? Which areas are left out of personal neighborhoods?

Discussion questions that might arise at this time could include:

1. What kinds of buildings did you find in your neighborhood? In what condition are they? How have they changed in your lifetime?
2. What kinds of people live in your neighborhood? Ages? Races? How has this changed in your lifetime?
3. What kinds of human interaction did you notice?
4. Why did you put the boundary of your neighborhood where you did? How do you know when you leave your neighborhood and enter another? Is it a feeling—do you see strange people?
5. Does the size of your neighborhood depend on things such as age or ethnic groups?
6. What kinds of businesses and services are there in your neighborhood?
7. What things do you like or dislike about your neighborhood?

As a group, the teacher and students can decide upon a problem or problems that they want to study and derive a set of questions and techniques to use in order to get the kind of data that they need. At this stage it will become apparent that working toward social change is a complicated process with a number of steps including the identification of a problem, data collection, development of alternative solutions and priorities.

A group might decide, for example, to investigate the provision of recreational facilities in their neighborhood. The student then builds upon the general data that he has already collected and asks more specific questions. These might include:

1. What types of recreational facilities already exist in the neighborhood? Where are they? In what condition are they?
2. How many people in your neighborhood are there of the various age groups that would use recreational facilities? Where do these people live?
3. What kinds of recreational facilities are felt to be needed by the people in the neighborhood?
4. Where do the people want these facilities to be located?

5. What kind of supporting data do you need? How and where can you obtain these data?
6. What city agencies and people are responsible for the provision of the specific service that you desire?

The teacher and class might ask local officials, planners, and social agency personnel to come to their class for discussion of these problems. In the case of the need and desire for new facilities the class' findings should be presented to the appropriate civil agency or agencies. It is precisely at this point at which the highest frustration sets in, as the students have done a great deal of work that becomes lost in the city bureaucracy. It is also at this point that real social action begins, where all the learning is followed by doing.

## Conclusion

It is not possible to preach to a teacher on how best to be a social activist; our purpose is rather to indicate that the geography and/or social studies classroom can be part of the process of social change. A geography exercise of this type does not teach the child about life's problems "out there." They already know about these problems firsthand. But this type of geography assignment can build upon this knowledge and develop skills aimed at altering life "out there." It is obvious to the authors that the education provided by traditional geography has produced students who were useful for two things, knowing the answers to quiz show questions and planning those aspects of society deemed important by middle-class white Americans. Geographers have ignored the spatial dimensions of social problems as seen by minority groups.

Unless change is the goal of all instruction in geography, the discipline will not be relevant to the social reforms our society desperately needs.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Ned O'Gorman, *The Storefront* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p. 39.

[2] Ray Vogel, *The Other City* (New York: David White, 1969).

[3] John W. Anderson—Kasondra, "My Neighborhood," *John W. Anderson Presents Kasondra,* Capitol Records.

[4] Lou Rawls, "South Side Blues," *Lou Rawls Live!,* Capitol Records.

[5] Langston Hughes, *One-Way Ticket* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949), p. 64.

[6] From *The Me Nobody Knows: Children's Voices from the Ghetto,* edited by Stephen M. Joseph. Copyright © 1969 by Stephen M. Joseph. By permission of Avon Books, New York.

[7] Jesus Papoleto Milendez, "Message to Urban Sightseers," from: *Talkin' About Us: Writings by Students in the Upward Bound Program,* edited by Bill Wertheim. Copyright © 1970 by Meredith Corporation, New Century Division. By permission of Appleton-Century-Crofts, Educational Division, Meredith Corp., p. 5.

[8] Nat Hentoff, *Jazz Country* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1965), p. 40.

[9] Robert Coles, *Children of Crisis* (Boston: Atlantic, Little, Brown and Co., 1964), facing p. 29.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] George Mendoza, *The World from My Window* (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1969). Copyright © by George Mendoza. By permission of Hawthorne Books, Inc.

[12] R. Lincoln Keiser, *The Vice Lords: Warriors of the Streets* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 22.

[13] *Ibid.,* pp. 22-27.

[14] Earl Anthony, *Picking Up the Gun* (New York: The Dial Press, 1970), p. 78.

[15] Claude Brown, *Manchild in the Promised Land* (New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1965), p. 415. Used by permission.

[16] Warren Miller, *The Cool World* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1959), p. 26.

[17] From: *Soul on Ice* by Eldridge Cleaver. (Copyright © 1968. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.) Used with permission of McGraw-Hill Book Co., p. 27.

[18] Alice Lipscomb, "'They Don't Care and They Don't Hear'," *Poverty and Health* (New York: Bulletin of National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association, 1969), p. 7.

[19] W. G. V. Balchin and Alice M. Coleman, "Graphicacy Should Be the Fourth Ace in the Pack," *The Times Educational Supplement* (London: *The London Times,* November 5, 1965), p. 947.

[20] David Greenhood, *Mapping* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), p. 3.

[21] Martin Mayer, *Where, When, and Why: Social Studies in American Schools* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1962), p. 29.

[22] Joseph O. Loretan and Shelly Umans, *Teaching the Disadvantaged* (New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966), p. 12.

[23] Hilda Taba and Deborah Elkins, *Teaching Strategies for the Culturally Disadvantaged* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1966), pp. 6, 15.

[24] Richard Wisniewski, *New Teachers in Urban Schools: An Inside View* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1968).

[25] Peanuts Comic Strip, Charles Schultz, in *The Milwaukee Journal,* May 3, 1971, Green Sheet. Courtesy of *The Milwaukee Journal* © United Features Syndicate, Inc.

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# 8. Exploring Urban Cultural Variations Through Anthropology

## James M. Saad

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> You have been told to go grubbing in the library, thereby accumulating a mass of notes and a liberal coating of grime. You have been told to choose problems wherever you can find musty stacks of routine records based on trivial schedules prepared by tired bureaucrats or indifferent clerks. This is called "getting your hands dirty in real research." Those who thus counsel you are wise and honorable; the reasons they offer are of great importance. But one thing more is needful: firsthand observation. Go and sit in the lounges of the luxury hotels and on the doorsteps of the flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slum shakedowns; sit in Orchestra Hall and in the Star and Garter Burlesk. In short, gentlemen, go get the seats of your pants dirty in *real* research.
>
> *Robert E. Park*[1]

During the height of the "bussing" controversy which marked the beginning of the 1971-72 school year, the Detroit suburb of Pontiac became the focus of nationwide attention with the mysterious, middle-of-the-night bombing of several school busses. The FBI, soon after the bombing, announced that it had raided a rural farmhouse outside of Detroit which served as the headquarters of the Michigan chapter of the Ku Klux Klan and had arrested six KKK members (including the Michigan Grand Dragon) in connection with the bus bombings. A climate of fear and tension suddenly gripped much of the Detroit-Pontiac metropolitan area as the spectre of KKK terror and violence, heretofore a phenomenon of the rural South, now haunted the urban North. Students and teachers, in the classrooms that dared, renewed discussions of the philosophy and tactics of the KKK. Missing from most discussions, however, was firsthand knowledge of the Ku Klux Klan itself. Missing, that is, from *most* classes; but in at least one case, the KKK was for a while the central part of the class.

In Anthropology 201, a course on "Urban Life and Cultures" offered at Wayne County Community College in Detroit, students had the opportunity to learn about the Klan, including what its members do and believe, and they learned about the Klan from KKK members themselves. For several weekends following the arrest and subsequent release on bail of the KKK leaders, several students in the class went to the rural farmhouse where the Grand Dragon and other KKK members were living to interview them and conduct participant observation of the Klan culture and life style. Eventually, a general meeting was arranged for the entire class to meet with KKK members, complete with a burning cross, hoods, and robes. The Grand Dragon spoke to the class and answered student questions about Klan philosophy and methods, including its tradition of terror, violence, and white racism. Ironically, some of the most meaningful discussion occurred between Black students in the class and the Grand Dragon. Needless to say, this was probably one of the few times in this country's history in which an open, rational, and honest dialogue has taken place between Black people and the Ku Klux Klan. While this encounter was only *one* of many, equally unique and meaningful experiences, it reflects the nature and spirit of Anthropology 201, a course which I have briefly described in a recent issue of SOCIAL EDUCATION.[2]

Anthropology 201 is a course without classrooms, lectures, or tests. It is a course based on direct experience and participant observation designed to help students develop an awareness, understanding, and firsthand knowledge of the nature and tremendous diversity of urban life styles and cultures.

The course was organized and developed during the 1970 fall term and first offered on an experimental basis during the Winter Semester of 1971. The student response and course results were both overwhelmingly favorable and it has since become one of the most popular, and I think meaningtul, courses offered at Wayne County Community College.

FIGURE 1

SCHEDULE OF FIELD EXPERIENCES IN ANTHROPOLOGY 201
DURING THE FALL SEMESTER, 1971

| | |
|---|---|
| Sept. 16 | Orientation & Introductory Meeting; Color Slide Ethnography of Experiences in Previous Classes. |
| Sept. 23 | International Society for Krishna Consciousness in the Hare Krishna Temple. |
| Sept. 30 | The Sexual Freedom League. |
| Oct. 7 | Old World Market & Ethnic Festival at the International Institute. |
| Oct. 14 | The Aetherius Society (at the Aetherians' Headquarters). |
| Oct. 21 | The Culture of Fire Buffs. |
| Oct. 22-24 | Field Trip to Toronto, Ontario. |
| Oct. 28 | The John Birch Society; American Opinion Bookstore. |
| Nov. 4 | Alcoholic Men; Sacred Heart Rehabilitation Center. |
| Nov. 5 | Meeting with the Ku Klux Klan. |
| Nov. 11 | Gay Life & Culture; Meeting with Male Homosexuals, Lesbians, and Bisexuals. |
| Nov. 12 | Field Experiences in the Gay Community (the gay ghetto, gay bars, and a gay church). |
| Nov. 14 | Transsexuals, Transvestism and Transvestite Culture. |
| Nov. 15 | Professional "Transvestism": Female Impersonators. |
| Nov. 17-22 | New York City Field Trip: The Subculture of Anthropologists—Convention of the American Anthropological Association; Greenwich Village, Chinatown, Harlem, the Bowery, the United Nations, the Cockettes. |
| Dec. 2 | Feminism and Women's Liberation. |
| Dec. 9 | Witchcraft, Church of Satan, and the Occult. |
| Dec. 10 | The Jesus Movement: Jesus Freaks and the Children of God. |
| Dec. 16 | Black Culture in the Black Community. |
| Dec. 17 | Youth Culture. |
| Dec. 18 | Culture of the Elderly: Nursing Home and Park Bench Society. |
| Dec. 23 | The Grand Finale: Cultural Celebration. |

Figure 1 is a schedule of field experiences which the Anthropology 201 class participated in during the Fall Semester of 1971 and is typical of the types of firsthand experiences held each term.

The course, which carries three credit hours, is held in a variety of cultural settings with various cultural groups throughout the urban Detroit area. The approach of the course is based on the anthropological method of participant observation—studying other cultures from the perspective of the people in each culture and from a vantage point as often as possible within a natural setting inside the culture. Within this framework the class meets with and observes a different cultural group each week. These include many of the cultures and life styles which are characteristic of all urban areas such as homosexuals, transvestites, racial and ethnic cultures, magical and religious groups, fire buffs, feminists, alcoholics, "hippies" and youth groups. The list is nearly endless, as is the cultural diversity of urban areas, and always in the process of expansion.

The individual field experiences in each culture tend to vary somewhat from term to term, though usually within the same basic framework of attempting to provide the broadest possible view of each culture in its totality. Each week all of the students are mailed a notice of that week's field experience including directions, a map, and background information. (See Figure 2.)

FIGURE 2

A SAMPLE OF THE WEEKLY LETTER TO STUDENTS ON THE FIELD EXPERIENCES

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*Anthropology 201: Urban Life and Cultures*

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To: All 201 Sisters & Brothers
From: Jim Saad
Re: Experiences X & XI: Gay Life and Culture in Detroit
Transvestism and Transvestite Culture

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*Gay Life & Culture, November 11 and 12*

The next field experiences in Anthropology 201 will be held this Thursday and Friday, November 11 and 12, and will deal with one of the most oppressed and least known life styles in the urban community: Male and Female Homosexuals. The life of gay people is a continuous struggle against and fear of prejudice, harassment, and brutality by a larger, heterosexual society. The sexual folklore and mythology of American culture are full of prejudiced, distorted, and derogatory views of gay people and gay life. And yet, few heterosexuals have ever known or even spoken with homosexuals on an honest and equal basis. This week's experiences will hopefully provide you with the first step toward acquiring a better awareness and understanding of gay life and culture without the stereotypes, fears, and prejudices.

The two experiences will be held on different days at different times in different places and using different approaches but with the same goal in mind: to increase our understanding of gay life in its totality.

*Thursday, November 11.* A general meeting will be held in Debbie's home in Harper Woods beginning *promptly* at *7:00 P.M.* This session will include a meeting with several homosexuals from the Detroit area including gay males, lesbians, and bisexuals speaking on such topics as the gay liberation philosophy, police entrapment, the Church and homosexuality, sexist laws, and bisexuality. In addition, several gay sisters and brothers in the 201 class will speak on their own sexuality and the pressures they face because of it. There will also be a short general question-and-answer period followed by a breaking off into smaller groups of six to eight people with at least one gay person in each group to answer and discuss questions on a more informal basis.

(At some point during this session on Thursday, we will organize the field experience to be held *in* the gay community on Friday night. Everyone who wants to take part in Friday night's field experience must be at the session on Thursday night.)

*Friday, November 12.* This session will involve a field experience in the gay community itself and will include a view of the gay ghetto in Detroit and a visit to a few gay bars for those who are twenty-one or older. For those who are under twenty-one, arrangements are being made for a special meeting and rap session with the Gay Youth Caucus.

Since this field experience will involve an intrusion by outsiders in the privacy and social lives of others, the entire experience will be organized at the Thursday night meeting and everyone who is going on the Friday night field experience will be divided into small groups of three or four people with one gay brother or sister in each group. Also, each group will be either all female or all male in order to respect the feelings and customs of those in the gay bars. All of us will meet together both before and after the field experiences to discuss and rap with each other about our different experiences.

Once again, *only those who participate in the general session on Thursday night will be able to participate in the Friday field experiences* both because of the background information on gay life which will be presented and because of the necessity to organize the field experiences to the barest detail ahead of time.

All other details on the Friday field experiences will be provided on Thursday, including meeting places, maps, times, and groups.

### *Transvestism and Transvestite Culture, November 14 and 15*

Next week's 201 experience will deal with an even lesser known culture and life style, and one which is probably even more oppressed than gay culture since it has less opportunity to express itself because of very restrictive laws in Detroit which prohibit individuals from wearing clothing of the opposite sex. Also, transvestites often find prejudice not only from straights but also within the gay community.

Several transvestites, both Black and white, will speak to us about their culture, life style, and problems in a sexist society on one of our rare weekend sessions, *Sunday, November 14.* The Sunday meeting is necessitated by a conflict which the transvestites have on Thursday and Friday nights and also by our trip to New York City next week.

The transvestites, who include Sabina and Juanita, along with the possible appearance of Gerry who was recently arrested for wearing clothing of the opposite sex and whose trial begins in Detroit on December 1, will describe the nature of transvestism, the laws against transvestism, and transsexualism.

Also, they will appear in full "drag" (dressed as opposites) to provide as realistic a view of transvestism as possible.

This session will be held at the following time and place:

*Sunday, November 14, 12 o'clock noon, at Ron's home in Detroit.* Read the articles on Transsexualism and the Transvestite-Transsexual Bill of Rights before this meeting. I will have two other articles on Transvestism to pass out to you prior to this meeting.

*Monday, November 15, 7:30 P.M.* This meeting will provide a field experience to several female impersonator settings in downtown Detroit. More complete information on this experience including meeting places, exact times, and specific places will be given out at the Gay culture meeting this Thursday night or at the Transvestite culture meeting on Sunday. Be sure to read the following articles before this field experience.

"The Transsexuals: Male or Female?" (*Look*)
"Transvestite and Transsexual Liberation" (*Gay Liberator*)
"The Cockettes of San Francisco" (*Earth*)
"Culture/Counter Culture—Female Impersonator" (*Ramparts*)

*New York Trip Set, November 17-22*

The trip to New York City for the annual convention of the American Anthropological Association and other assorted activities in The City has been just about finalized. Sister Julie and her followers have been working their hands off to get the bus deal organized and off the ground. This bus is set to leave on Wednesday, November 17, at approximately 10:00 P.M. and arrive back in Detroit late Sunday night, November 22.

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The class meets to observe a particular cultural group somewhere in the urban community, either within the cultural context of the informants such as in the Krishna Temple, a hippie commune, or a Black cultural center, or, if this is not possible, the class meets in the home of one of the students.

In most cases, the weekly experiences are prearranged with the people of each subculture in order to avoid, as much as possible, unexpected intrusion and imposition upon the private and social lives of those we are interested in learning more about. The original contacts for these cultural experiences were made through a variety of means, e.g., attending a meeting of the Gay Liberation Front or the John Birch

Society, checking the classified ads and meeting notices listed in various underground newspapers, or making visits to an ethnic cultural center or the Hare Krishna Temple. Most importantly, we use the greatest of all natural resources—the students themselves, who always possess a wealth of information if they are allowed and encouraged to utilize it. Cultural contacts, therefore, have never been a problem, especially since the first time the course was offered. More often than not new contacts are made during each experience, thus creating a snowballing effect resulting in numerous new friendships and acquaintances who can be called on for future classes. Several of the weekly sessions which have been especially worthwhile experiences are worth describing in more detail.

### Black Culture

The experience in Black culture, which is held in various parts of the Black community in Detroit, usually begins with a visit to the Shrine of the Black Madonna Cultural Center with its large displays of Afro-American art, jewelry, clothing, and literature. One or more of the Black women in the class usually invite the students to their homes for a soul food dinner which they have carefully prepared. Later in the evening we usually hear from several Black speakers such as community workers, politicians, Black Panthers and other activists, educators, clergy, and street people who discuss various facets of Black culture and the effects of white racism on the Black community. Black music and art are often a major part of the overall Black culture experience. In some cases we meet with Black artists who exhibit and discuss their work and/or listen to Black singers, musicians, and poets perform, either in bars and night clubs in the Black community or in the home of one of the Black students. Very often the development of Black music will be traced from its African roots through field chants sung during the period of American slavery, spirituals and gospel songs, the blues, jazz, up to the contemporary soul sound. Students are encouraged to discuss the relationship between Black music and Black culture, especially as it reflects the struggle against white racism. Finally, the Black culture experience often includes late-night participant observation in various parts of the Black community such as at a series of "after-parties" or perhaps all-night raps or jam sessions. The Black culture experience in Anthropology 201 is, of course, one of the most interesting and beneficial class sessions of all, especially for the white students, and it is not uncommon for this experience, which usually starts early in the evening, to end up at seven or eight o'clock the following morning with Black and white students talking together over breakfast at the nearest restaurant.

## The Hare Krishna Devotees

One of the most pleasant experiences each semester is our visit to the temple and living quarters of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, better known as the Hare Krishna people, who can be found dancing and chanting on the streets of nearly all urban centers across the country. The students never find that conforming to the Krishna devotees' strict rules while in the temple or their unusual outward appearance (shaved heads except for a ponytail in back and long orange gowns) in any way hinders the delightful conversation and friendly relationships which are quickly established between themselves and the devotees. The Krishna experience begins with an introductory lecture on Krishna consciousness and culture by the head of the temple which is followed by a question-and-answer period. Then the devotees conduct their services and worship before the altar of Krishna, ending up some time later in the near ecstasy of their dancing and chanting:

Hare Krishna Hare Krishna
Krishna Krishna Hare Hare
Hare Rama Hare Rama
Rama Rama Hare Hare.

Inevitably and often without realizing it at first, most of the students find themselves clapping their hands, chanting the Krishna mantra, and in many cases even dancing with the devotees. This is often followed by meditation and the presentation of a transcendental play by the Krishna people.

The students and devotees then move to another room where they sit together on the floor and "take prasadam," an exotic feast consisting of a dozen or more delicious, vegetarian foods. After the feast, individual devotees take small groups of students on tours through the temple and communal living quarters which are segregated by sex except for the married devotees' rooms. The remaining time is spent in individual conversations with the devotees, browsing through the Krishna literature, and purchasing homemade beads, incense, and oils. Many of the students go back to the temple on their own during the following week, and some often spend an entire weekend living in the temple with the devotees.

## Other Aspects of the Class

To acquire a holistic view of any culture is difficult if not impossible solely as a result of merely one of these weekly experiences. While these visits form the core of the course and are the only required sessions, they are not the *only* activities of the course. They are complemented by several other, equally valuable activities conducted on a less formal and small group basis. These include well-planned but very informal experiences by field teams of two to four people who follow up many of the weekly sessions by going back to the group or cultural setting for in-depth observations and interviews in a variety of contexts.

Our study of homosexuality and gay life and culture in Detroit demonstrated how these informal, small-group activities can be utilized to complement the general class sessions and provide an even more meaningful and holistic view of various urban cultures. The general session on gay life is usually scheduled to meet in a home and ten to twenty male and female homosexuals are invited to attend. These persons represent such groups as the Gay Liberation Front, One, the Daughters of Bilitis, Radicalesbians, the Mattachine Society, the Order of St. Gregory, the Christian Homosexuals, the Gay Black Caucus, and the Detroit Gay Activists. Several of the gays make a brief, opening presentation about themselves, gay culture, and the organization they represent, if any. This is followed by a question-and-answer period, and then the formation of a number of small-group discussions composed of four or five students and one or two gays. This serves to eliminate many of the inhibitions of both gays and straights which often exist in a large group and allows for a much more intensive discussion. Many of the women in the class, for example, always have numerous questions which they want to ask the lesbians but find difficult to ask in a large group.

An especially moving and significant experience which has occurred several times is the "coming out" (openly proclaiming one's homosexuality without shame or guilt) at this session of some students who had up to that point kept their homosexuality hidden from the other class members and who no longer felt inhibited. This is a major step in the life of any homosexual, and possibly even more so in this situation. The reaction of the "straight" students is often a startled one, but in almost all cases the gay students have been completely accepted—at least after the initial "shock" felt by their classmates—and go on to develop new and close friendships based on a sincere and mutual respect.

During the weeks following the general session on homosexuality, many class members in small groups of two to four people attempt to get a better, firsthand knowledge and understanding of gay life. They go into the gay community and meet individuals in gay bars, and the major "cruising" area of a gay ghetto in Detroit. Others visit the homes of both lesbians and male homosexuals. Some tour a gay commune, attend meetings and open houses of various gay organizations, and participate in gay dances and demonstrations. Several students have participated in protest marches demanding repeal of the laws against homosexuality and attended court trials of homosexuals who have been entrapped by the police.

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Our visits to the gay bars are usually conducted in small groups with at least one of our gay contacts in each group to act as a guide and liaison. These groups are usually segregated by sex to conform with the customs and traditions of gay culture. Meanwhile, the students who are under twenty-one years of age and thus unable to legally enter a bar meet with the youth caucus members of the gay liberation movement who describe their life style and the extra pressures and difficulties they face as a result of both sex and generational prejudices.

It is worth noting that most of the students usually participate in these additional activities even though they are not a required part of the course, and despite the diverse cultural backgrounds of the students themselves. It is not unusual, for example, and really very rewarding to see someone such as a sixty-five-year-old suburban grandmother in the center of a discussion with other students of all ages and backgrounds and several homosexuals in a gay bar in Detroit's inner city.

## Transsexuals, Transvestites, and Female Impersonators

The field experience in gay life and culture is usually followed by observations in a closely-related yet somewhat different culture, the society of "drag queens" or transvestites whose sexuality is manifested in cross-dressing—the wearing of clothing of the opposite sex. We have established contacts with several Detroit area transvestites whom we meet with each semester in one of the students' homes to provide an introduction and background information on the street culture of transvestites. While most of the transvestites we have met with view their transvestism as an end in itself, a few of them describe it as merely one psychological and cultural step in a process toward their eventual goal: the final post-operative stage as a full transsexual with its accompanying physiological changes. This meeting provides the class with an excellent opportunity to compare the differences and similarities between transvestites and transsexuals, not only in their attitudes toward each other but also in their relationships with both the gay community and society-at-large. A further opportunity for comparison, especially in life styles, is provided by our follow-up, small-group experiences in bars and shows which feature female impersonators, who are not necessarily transvestites or homosexuals, but who dress as women primarily for professional or commercial reasons. While the students always enjoy the female impersonation shows themselves, the most valuable part of this experience comes between performances and sometimes at the end of the evening when the students meet and talk with the impersonators on an informal basis.

### Skid Row and the Alcoholic Subculture

One final field experience worth describing briefly is the visit to a rehabilitation center for alcoholic men in Detroit's inner-city slums. We usually spend one evening at the center where counselors and staff members, who are also alcoholics, describe the services and programs provided for the approximately one hundred alcoholics living there. The rest of the evening is spent in the center, which is actually a condemned elementary school building, talking individually with the alcoholic men about their lives and problems, before and after entering the rehabilitation center.

Once again this general session of the class is often followed with several valuable small-group experiences which include a walk through Detroit's skid row, a visit to a few overnight flop houses, and a stop at another rehabilitation center for alcoholics. One of the more practical consequences of this experience are projects to help the center, such as the one the students are now involved in to raise money for 200 pairs of new underwear which men at the center desperately need for winter.

### Cultural Happenings

As if all of this were not enough to keep students involved, in addition to the letter and notice of weekly meetings I compile a "calendar" of various activities, events, and cultural happenings occurring in the urban community each week. While again it is not a course requirement, most students do attempt to attend, observe, and often participate in one or more of these cultural happenings each week and relate it to our overall perspective of the diversity of urban life.

### Individual Field Work Projects

Most students, either by themselves or with another student, conduct an independent field work project during the term of the course. These have included activities such as an urban kinship analysis; ethnographies of such subcultures as houses of prostitution, drug cultures, religious groups, a Hungarian gypsy group, and the elderly; participant observation inside a motorcycle gang; a study of emergency room procedures at an inner-city hospital; court-watching projects; observations of pool room hustlers; tavern behavior; rituals of occult groups such as the Church of Satan; and ethnomusicological studies on blues, jazz, and soul in the Black culture.

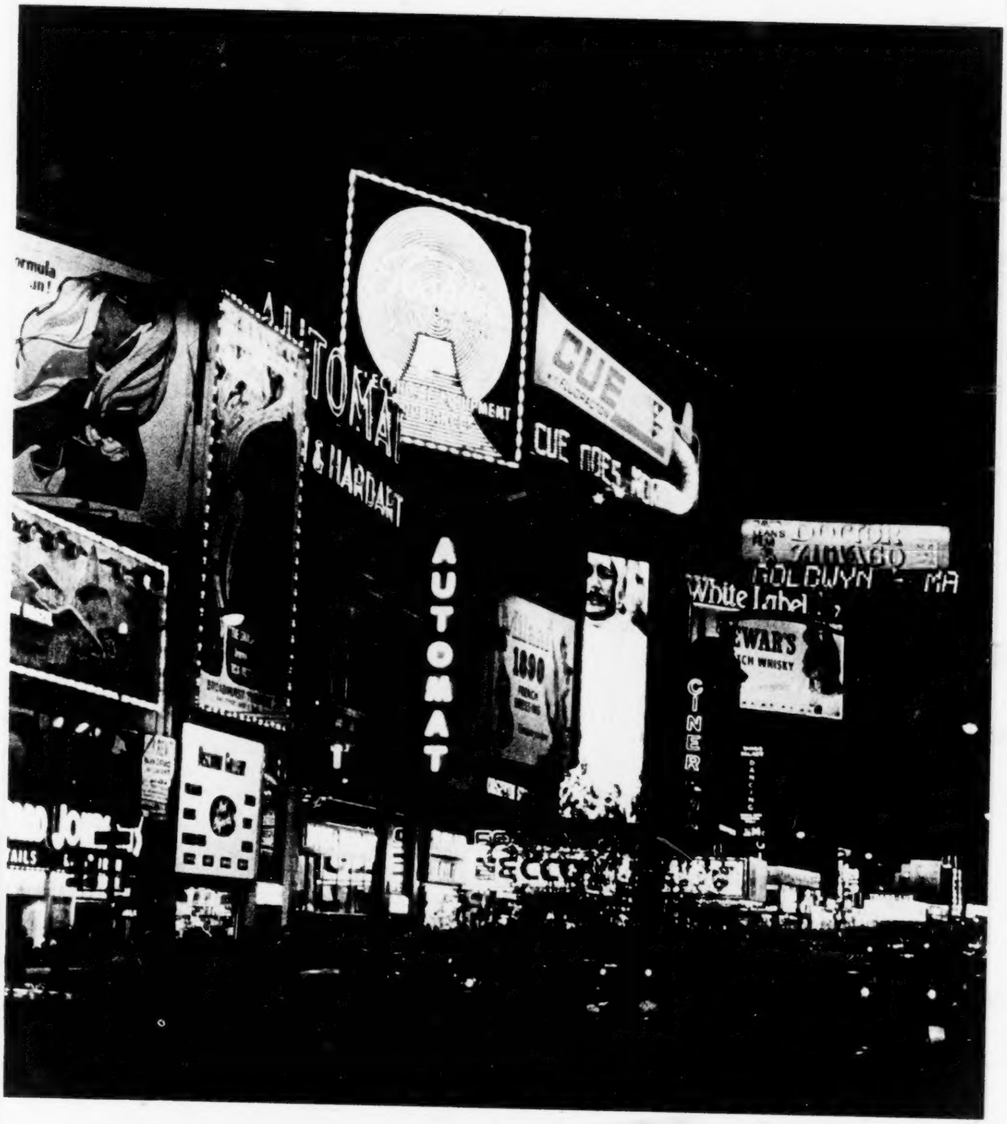
One especially interesting and well-done field work project was conducted by a middle-class woman who became interested in male transvestism. She spent many long hours discussing and interviewing a particular transvestite who on one occasion asked her for a date to go to a party put on by others who would also be in "drag." She happily accepted, hoping that it would be a good opportunity for finding out more about transvestism. The only problem, he explained, was that a "straight" female at the party would be out-of-place and could prove to be uncomfortable for both her and the transvestites. Remembering that I had once mentioned that improvisation is often the difference between success and failure in field work, she improvised—as all anthropologists often must do in a variety of ways—by reversing sex roles. She went to the party with the transvestite; but while he went as a female, she dressed in male attire, introduced herself as "George," and in effect played a male cultural role throughout the evening. All in all, it proved to be an extremely interesting field experience and an invaluable learning experience.

### Observing Other Urban Areas

Each semester the Anthropology 201 course includes a three-to-five-day field trip to another urban area, usually Toronto, Ontario, or Montreal, Quebec, where the students observe urban cultures and life styles on a comparative basis with those previously observed in Detroit. The activities in Toronto usually include a meeting with leaders of American draft resisters in exile, and visits to the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto's hip community (Yorkville), a small urban village composed of numerous ethnic groups (Kensington Market), and the rites and "midnight meditation" of a Satanist cult.

### "The Weirdest Culture of All"

An unusual and noteworthy field trip was held for the first time during the Fall Semester of 1971 and will probably take place during fall semesters in the future. Forty-five students in the class chartered a bus and helped to organize a five-day field trip to New York City to attend the annual convention of the American Anthropological Association. One student commented that she had "observed many unusual cultures in this course but these anthropologists are the weirdest people of all!" Nevertheless, the students attended many of the sessions of the convention, found their way to some of the parties, met and talked with many anthropologists, and also observed several of the cultural settings and happenings in New York City. These included such traditional settings as Greenwich Village, Chinatown, the Bowery, Harlem, and the United Nations building; and also a few unconventional happenings such as a live appearance of the Cockettes—the famous transvestites of San Fran-


AUTOMAT
& HARDART
CUE
CUE GOES
AUTOMAT
1800
White Label
DEWAR'S
WHISKY
DOCTOR ZHIVAGO
GOLDWYN
CINER

cisco whom we had discussed and read about just one week earlier during the transvestite experience for that semester.

## The "Textbooks"

Instead of adopting a textbook for Anthropology 201, students are assigned readings, reprints, and ethnographic materials about each specific culture or life style which we encounter. These include not only scholarly articles but also material from the local and popular press. We also utilize primary source materials published in many cases by the informants themselves, which allow students to acquire and compare an emic *vs.* etic perspective of many of the cultures studied. Following is a sample listing of many of the reading materials which are used in any one semester.

PARTIAL LIST OF REQUIRED READINGS FOR ANTHROPOLOGY 201,
FALL SEMESTER, 1971

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*Back to Godhead: The Magazine of the Hare Krishna Movement,* September, 1971 issue.
"Watching Krishna Watchers," Helen May. *Detroit Free Press,* August 24, 1971.
"Detroit's Cultural Heritage," National Bank of Detroit, 1971.
"The Sexual Freedom League," Jack Lind. *Playboy* magazine's special, *The Sexual Revolution.*
*Newsletter* of the Sexual Freedom League, Detroit Chapter, October, 1971.
*Newsletter* of the Aetherius Society, October & November, 1971 issues.
"The Mountain Church Information Bulletin," Ku Klux Klan, September, 1971.
"The Pontiac 6," Michigan chapter of the United Klans of America.
"Sexuality—Two Anthropological Studies," John C. Messenger and Donald S. Marshall. *Psychology Today,* February, 1971.
"The Culture of Civility: Deviance and Democracy in the City," Howard S. Becker and Irving Louis Horowitz. *Trans-Action: Social Science and Modern Society,* April, 1970.
"The Insomniac's Guide to Detroit," Marty Fischhoff. *Detroit Free Press,* February 28, 1971.
"Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places," Laud Humphreys. *Trans-Action: Social Science and Modern Society,* January, 1970.
"The Churches and the Homosexual," John A. Coleman. *Commonweal,* February 6, 1971.
"The Homosexuals of Detroit," Barbara Stanton. *Detroit Free Press,* November 22, 1970.
"The Militant Homosexual," *Newsweek,* September, 1971.
"The American City," Paul Ylvisaker. (pamphlet article) Sidney Hillman Foundation Reprint Series.

"Make Suburbs for Humans, Anthropologist Mead Urges," Boyce Rensberger. *Detroit Free Press,* January 10, 1971.
"The Transsexuals—Male or Female?", Roland H. Berg. *Look,* January 27. 1970.
"The Cockettes of San Francisco," Barbara Falconer. *Earth Magazine,* October, 1971.
"Culture/Counter Culture: Female Impersonator," *Ramparts,* November, 1971.
*Heart-Beats,* magazine of the Sacred Heart Rehabilitation Center for Alcoholic Men, October, 1971.
"City Folks Struggle to Find a Better Life in the Hills," Saul Friedman. *Detroit Free Press,* 1970.
"Hill Folks Come to Detroit to Make a Decent Wage," John Askins. *Detroit Free Press,* 1970.
"Culture: Negro, Black and Nigger," Johnnetta Cole. *The Black Scholar,* June, 1970.
"Anthropologist Traces Black Madonnas in History," Nancy Manser. *Detroit News,* February 20, 1971.
"Motherhood: Who Needs It?", Betty Rollin. *Look,* September 22, 1970.
"Places in Detroit Where Women Can't Go," Julie Morris. *Detroit Free Press,* February 7, 1971.
"Women: A Bibliography," Sandy Cisler. (unpublished)
"The Politics of Housework," Pat Mainardi. 1968.
"Private World of the Elderly—And Their Own 'Underground,'" Tom Nugent. *Detroit Free Press,* April 25, 1971.
"The Moral Career of the Bum," James P. Spradley. *Trans-Action: Social Science and Modern Society,* May, 1970.
"The Jesus People," *Newsweek,* March 22, 1971.

## Missionaries vs. Participant Observers

In addition to several, sometimes many, individual objectives which vary considerably from student to student within the class depending on the individual interests and needs of each student, there are also two overall course objectives: (1) to help students develop an awareness, understanding, and firsthand knowledge of the nature and tremendous diversity of cultures and life styles within urban areas in general and Detroit in particular; and (2) to help students develop an awareness and understanding of the nature and depth of their own ethnocentrism with a specific view toward eliminating or at least minimizing it.

Becoming aware of and admitting to one's own ethnocentrism is considerably more difficult than recognizing the same prejudices in someone else. A course such as Anthropology 201 provides an excellent testing ground for drawing out one's own deep-seated biases for in *few* other situations will students come face-to-face with as many cultures which are seemingly so strikingly different from one's own cultural background.

The immediate effects are, of course, often obvious in the student reactions to various cultures. In spite of our generally-accepted approach of participant observation and cultural relativism rather than "missionary" work and ethnocentrism, there are usually a few students at each experience whose personal values and emotions find a particular life style to be totally unacceptable. Some of them become missionaries in an attempt to point out the "immorality" or "unnatural" behavior and customs of that culture. While this in itself is often a very good learning experience on ethnocentrism both for that individual and the other students, it occurs only in a small minority of cases and tends to decrease as the course progresses from culture to culture.

Another potential problem is the risk of cultural contamination caused by a large group of outsiders entering into a culture. We use a variety of methods to decrease this possibility, however, and in most cases the effect on the culture we are observing is negligible. Students, early in the course, begin to realize that an essential ingredient for reducing the risk of cultural contamination and establishing honest relationships is, in fact, an elimination of our own ethnocentrism and a realization that we must avoid the appearance and actuality of being missionaries out to change the ways of people or tourists in a zoo pointing fingers at animals. Instead we are there to observe, in order to understand another culture which, although somewhat different from our own, is nevertheless made up of other human beings who are neither inferior nor superior to us; and to whom we are as strange as they to us. Based on the reactions observed during each experience, I think it is safe to say that we come close to achieving this ideal more often than not, although it is still necessary to be constantly on guard and reminders are often in order.

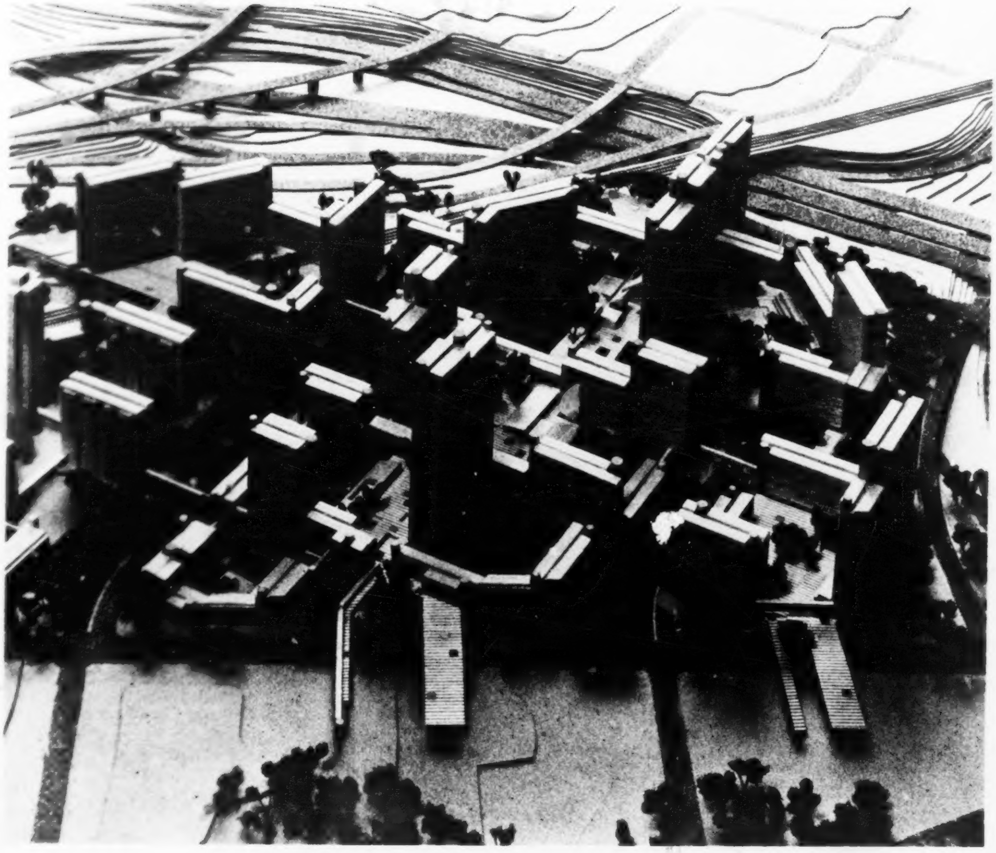
Judging both by student evaluations of the course at the end of each semester and my own observations, the concept and method of Anthropology 201 has proven to be an exciting and valuable learning experience —both for those who are college students with degree and career plans and for those who are taking a college course for the first and last time and only because they heard about Anthropology 201 through a social, occupational, professional, or political grapevine. Out of the nearly 300 students who have taken the course, nearly all have evaluated the course in an extremely positive manner.

In any case, by employing the method of the cultural anthropologist—in our teaching—learning can and should become exciting and fun. And it's most fun and more exciting and we learn best *not* by being told about something inside the four walls of a classroom but by *discovering* something on our own, in the real world, and through direct experience. In short, we learn best by getting our feet wet and "the seats of [our] pants dirty in *real* research."

## FOOTNOTES

[1] "Unpublished statement made by Robert E. Park and recorded by Howard Becker while a graduate student at Chicago in the twenties." John C. McKinney, *Constructive Typology and Social Theory* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), p. 71.

[2] James M. Saad, "The City as the Classroom: New Perspectives on the Teaching of Anthropology in the Community College," *Social Education*, February, 1972.



# Part Three

# Possibilities for the Future

236

*What are the possibilities for the future of today's cities?*

# 9. Man Within His City

## Constantinos A. Doxiadis

Constantinos A. Doxiadis *is one of the world's leading authorities on man's relationship to his environment. Born in Greece, he was educated as an architect-engineer at the Technical University of Athens and continued his graduate work at Berlin-Charlottenburg University. He has also received honorary degrees from a number of universities in the United States. He has held several governmental positions in Greece, including being a member of the Greek delegation at the San Francisco Peace Conference in 1945. He has taught and lectured extensively, and his writings include a variety of works dealing with urban planning, urban renewal, and the science of Ekistics. He is perhaps best known in this country for his recent study of the development of urban Detroit and the Great Lakes region. He has also undertaken urban renewal and developmental plans for cities in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Florida, South Carolina, and the District of Columbia.*

*The term Ekistics is derived from the Greek words for "home" and "to settle down," and may be defined as the science of human settlement. Constantinos Doxiadis writes: "Ekistics brings together not only the architect, the engineer, and the town planner, but also on an equal footing, the sociologist, the economist, the administrator, the political scientist, the geographer, the mathematician, and other artists and scientists." Mr. Doxiadis teaches Ekistics at the Athens Center of Ekistics, and is the head of Doxiadis Associates International in Athens, a firm of consultants specializing in Development and Ekistics.*

■

### Introduction

Because Man suffers today in his city, he complains, but as he does so he forgets this fact: Although he suffers in the city, he continues to come toward it (the larger the city the more people it attracts). This movement occurs because Man is given services and opportunities in the large city which he never had before. In the small city he was somebody's slave: the king's, the tyrant's, the feudal lord's, the small ruling class', or the company's. In the large city he is, in this sense, free.

Nonetheless, in the city Man suffers in other respects and has valid reasons to complain. The air is polluted, the natural water resources are far from him, the noise is tremendous, travel demands more and less pleasantly spent time. Because of these things and more, Man protests, screaming against the problems of the city. In his discomfort he loses his ability to realistically appraise his relationship with his City.

We must understand what this relationship is and what it is going to be. We need to know what problems it is going to create and what can be done to reduce them.

## The Inevitable Future

Because we cannot be certain about Man's future numbers and energy, buildings and techniques, we cannot be certain about the future of his city. We resort to describing utopias and holding interminable discussions, and more often than not we end up taking no action for the future of our cities. In the meantime, many forces develop our economy and technology, and every day we decide on the construction of works ranging from cottages to highways, committing our cities in the future. We avoid confronting the whole while we continue acting on the parts. This is irresponsible.

We must shoulder our responsibilities. We must make certain assumptions about what is the most probable future and what part of it, if any, is inevitable.

The main forces shaping the city are its people and the energy they mobilize. In the future we will have to deal with settlements containing more people and greater quantities of energy than those of the present. To assume otherwise would be both unreasonable and disastrous.

If people and energy are going to increase, then our cities are going to grow and merge into each other. This has been inevitable ever since humanity began to use machine transportation. The interconnection of cities to form urban systems is, for the man who uses machines, as natural as was the small romantic city for the pedestrian. Man is no longer only a pedestrian with an average speed of three miles an hour. He now can drive and fly at speeds of hundreds of miles per hour. As a result, small isolated cities are being gradually interconnected to form systems of cities which, in turn, give birth to new cities. In this way the isolated city on a human scale becomes part of a dynamically growing urban system (Fig. 1). **(See pp. 233-249 for Figs. 1-17)**

This transformation is evident in every metropolitan area around us and, on a larger scale, in the emerging megalopolitan systems. It is most clearly evident in the Eastern Megalopolis of the United States so well studied by Jean Gottmann[1] and in the Great Lakes Megalopolis now being studied by the Developing Great Lakes Corporation (Fig. 2). These studies show that we can understand how megalopolises form and can measure their extent. We can then see how they are expanding (Fig. 3).

If we want to arrest the formation of urban systems and megalopolises we need only to close all universities, stop all research, and stop producing motor vehicles. If we do not do these things then we must accept first, the appearance of many megalopolises; second, the formation of the universal city of Man as it is taking shape in Western Europe (Fig. 4) or the U.S.A. (Fig. 5); and third, their merging into one.

Ecumenopolis, the universal city, is inevitable. Its foundation stone was laid in 1825 when the first railway ran in England. It is 147 years old and growing strong. We do not understand this fact of life. Frightened, we close our eyes and allow the Ecumenopolis to grow without proper structure, lowering the quality of life.

## The Dangerous Future

Ecumenopolis will give Man more goods and services than he has ever had. The quality of life, however, in the universal city will be worse. Its citizens will have many new problems and many of their values will be threatened by what may become an inhuman future.

Man's relations with Nature are deteriorating. More and more he both threatens the quality of the natural elements and increases his distance from them. The assumption that this does not matter so long as we can get fresh air, for instance, by purifying the air in our buildings is false. The contaminated air is released into the streets for us to breathe when we go out for some fresh air.

Man's contacts with Man are also changing. We can communicate with others over great distances, but we cannot maintain our person-to-person contacts as we used to. The type of human development problems we are creating may be seen in our holding our children by the hand inside the city where in the past they were free to run. What kind of adults are we creating when we teach our children to fear their city?

The distances separating groups of people living in villages and small cities in the past reduced their choices for contacts, keeping society simple. Today more and more people are living closer together and society is becoming correspondingly more complex.

We can continue such a description almost indefinitely, but there is no need. With only a few examples we can turn to specific cases and become more practical in our thinking.

Many of the buildings Man is creating now in greater numbers lead toward less human conditions and do little to help the operation of the city. We pack people, for instance, in multistory residential buildings (Fig. 6), isolating them from each other and from Nature, while leaving them exposed to each other's negative influences, such as noise.

The problems cannot be solved unless we again build cities for human development, cities in which the citizen will be the prince, in which Man and not machines will control public space. We must recognize that the greatest pollution of human space is the intrusion of the machine into the space previously controlled by Man (Fig. 7).

Disparity in mobility is another major problem we must face. In the past the richest man in the world, such as Croesus of Asia Minor, could cover daily on horseback an area no more than ten times larger than could the poorest citizen on foot. Today a rich man can cover an area thousands of times larger in one day than can a poor man. Even a citizen with a family income only double that of a poor man, but who owns a second-hand car, can cover an area twenty to thirty times larger than can a man who does not own a car. The real choices in mobility are not, as incomes indicate, two to one but thirty to one if the poor man can use a bus, and hundreds to one if not.

This disparity in mobility increases daily. This is a case where technical developments magnify the existing differences between people. The modern transportation networks have increased the mobility of Man, but, in general, have lowered the quality of the city and destroyed the equality among its inhabitants. In small settlements all people can interact in space in similar terms. In large settlements some people are free to make the contacts they choose and some are not (Fig. 8).

I have mentioned the building, the street, and the mobility of people related to the function of the whole city. We can also look at the overall structure and see, as several recent studies have demonstrated, that many of the city's problems began as physical ones. The central city of Detroit was so overloaded with bicycles and horse-drawn carts in 1895 that the higher income families started moving out. Some shops, which were serving these higher income groups, followed. Later, middle-class families moved out as well. Even in this simple sketch we can see that the physical problems led to economic ones which in turn led to social problems as the middle-class areas were occupied by poor European immigrants. When these European immigrants earned enough money to move out they were replaced by poor Black immigrants from the South.

This is how we moved from the weaknesses of physical structure to the dynamite of racial problems. Ghettoes were not formed by the lowest income groups. They were formed by the failure of the city's structure to satisfy all the people living in it and by the consequent outward movement of those who could afford to leave. The process continues. People have been moving out of the city during the last twenty years at the rate of two yards per day or 4.5 miles every decade.

There are also changes which are not the result of new technologies but the result of the congregation of great numbers of people who, in their coming together, create new phenomena the dimensions of which we fail to understand. I will take the case of the "blue" people. If we assume that one out of every 500 people on earth is different in some way from others, let us say a "blue" person, this means that in the era of villages with normal, "green" people, there would be one "blue" person per village. This "blue" person was often called "crazy" by his fellow villagers, even though he might have been the genius of the era. If he were a genius he was isolated and more often than not was unable to thrive. In the big city of "red" people there are many "blue" people who can unite and express a new movement of thought, art, politics, anything which can be for the majority good or bad, right or wrong. In an Urban System of ten million people 20,000 "blue" people can create many new movements. A country with 200 million can easily assemble 400,000 followers of any movement, be it blue, red, or yellow. Woodstock was such a meeting of "blue" people, of which there will be many more, from liberation movements to political parties like the Gnomes of Holland. If we remember that we have, in addition to people who are "blue," others of every color of the spectrum, we will more easily understand the formations that come to life in an urban era.

In the past every village could be slightly different from others in the same area, but it was not changing. Today the Urban System is exposed to many new ideas which people can accept or reject. In every village or small city the people had only one pattern to follow. Today in an urban system they have many (Fig. 9). The increase in freedom of choices leads in some cases to confusion about what this freedom means and how we should use it. In the changing city of Man we have solved many of our age-old problems, but the city has also created new ones which we have yet to solve and, in many instances, even to understand.

## The Desirable Future

If present trends continue, the quality of life is going to decline in the inevitable universal city. The big question is how low we will let this decline continue. Thousands of years of human experience, including the personal experience of the author, answer that although Ecumenopolis is inevitable, decline is not. On the contrary, we can create a much higher quality of life in the coming universal city, higher not only in relation to the present but also in relation to the past, in relation to life in the cities we admire. We can create beautiful cities again, cities which will be at the same time far better than any city has been in the past in terms of health, social justice and equality.

First we need to re-establish the human scale of life which has been lost. We can guide the city of Man gradually towards much better conditions and a future whose quality will be human. This human city will consist of cells on a human scale which will be the basic units of life and human development (Fig. 10). They will be interconnected by the maximum use of technology and technically developed networks to form smoothly operating systems which will allow Man to operate them in proper balance with the forces of nature and society.

The master plan for Islamabad, the new capital of Pakistan, shows how this can be achieved (Fig. 11). Each one of Islamabad's sectors corresponds to a natural city of the past (Fig. 12). In Figure 12 in the upper sector we have the whole of Periclean Athens. In the right-hand square we have the Florence of Michelangelo, in the left-hand square London within its walls, and in the lower square Paris within its walls. Each is drawn on the same scale and may be included inside only one sector of a modern city.

The same ideas were implemented in the urban renewal project of Eastwick, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The paths of Man were separated from those of the machine and people are free to move in a human way (Fig. 13).

The problem is how to implement these principles on a scale much larger than the human one which is limited to one square mile. We can do this by coordinating our efforts with daily urban systems, in which live the majority of the population in developed areas. There are fifty-five to sixty such daily urban systems in the U.S.A. (Fig. 14). They are the basic units for the organization of urban space.

Within each urban system we need order to replace the present chaos. Order in the city of Man requires first a clear understanding of the city's problems, then an effective hierarchy and an effective structure.

Small cities have always needed and still need a hierarchical structure of at least home, block, neighborhood, and city. In the same way, larger cities need a hierarchical structure of sectors. An example of such a structure can be seen in the plans worked out for the Urban Detroit Area for the year 2000 (Fig. 15) and the twenty-first century (Fig. 16).

Immediately the question arises concerning what pattern will best facilitate this structure; whether the radial or the orthogonal pattern should be basic. The solution for a city should be an orthogonal pattern, but the solution for a greater area will have to be found according to each case. In general, the radial pattern was chosen in the past despite its many structural disadvantages in order to achieve the maximum economy of energy. Now and in the future, with more energy available and many more connections desired, orthogonal systems will probably prevail.

Urban regions covering hundreds of miles (of one dimensional space) have always developed as radial systems focussing upon either single center or a hierarchical system of centers which were sufficiently far apart for each to operate as the center of its own radial system. "All roads lead to Rome" expresses this empire concept of organization in space.

Humanity has mistakenly conceived each urban system as an empire to the center of which all highways must lead. The structure of modern cities is convoluted as a result. New and changing functions in a world of expanding dimensions are served by a structure built by haphazard additions continuously superimposed upon pre-existing frames. We need to build a structure which can best serve the present and future functions of the present and future city.

The particular value of the study of the Urban Detroit Area is that it demonstrates that the city, suffering so much from unexpected growth, expanded dimensions, and altered structure, can be restructured within one generation's time. The city's structure can be improved within this short period to relieve the pressures which have contributed to its economic and social problems. This is a short time for so major a step toward a contemporary, balanced, functioning urban system.

## A Plan for Action

If we understand the inevitability of the Ecumenopolis we are realists and do not seek escape in utopias. If we analyze the present situation we will recognize most of its ills. Such an analysis will help us define the desirable city of the future.

Once we define the desirable city, we must have the courage to construct it. All the great cities of mankind have been created by people who had the courage to face the fact that their city needed to grow. The 1791 plan of Washington, D.C. (Fig. 17) was made with enough courage and foresight to plan for the expansion of Georgetown to Washington, an area ten times as great. If the administrators of the country had had the same courage in 1891 as their predecessors one century earlier, Washington would be a much better city today. When the intellectual and political leaders of a nation have had the courage, they have faced the future by preparing for it instead of passively waiting for developments or coming out into the streets to scream.

First, we must comprehend the real dimensions of the city with which we are dealing. We must stop getting confused about the city by thinking it to be defined by its built-up area or its administrative boundaries. The inhabitants are not influenced by these considerations. They live and move according to their needs within daily urban systems. These daily urban systems are the real cities. We have to start working for them and not for what remains of the cities of the past.

Second, we must understand that these daily urban systems have to function for the benefit of everybody and not only for the benefit of several communities. If we determine the future of the common city by decisions of only some few of its units, then we may have no hope.

Third, we must develop all the probable plans for the future, evaluate them, and then select the most desirable and feasible. It is self-defeating to allow people to conceive one plan for the future. In all my life I have not seen people so wise that they can conceive the one right solution. We need to use modern, scientific approaches in order to select from among many the one plan we need.

Fourth, as soon as we agree on the most desirable and feasible plan, we must commit broad areas for its implementation. We do not need to wait until we have the money to construct every highway to decide where each one should be. The avenues which help to make Paris so magnificent a city were planned a century ago. We must have the courage to commit the city for the generations to come.

Fifth, once we have decided upon a system of transportation axes we must coordinate all utility networks with it. If we do so, then all developing forces will follow one pattern in serving all our needs.

Sixth, most of our creative planning must be expressed in the new parts of cities. A developing organism places most of its forces in its new areas. We will not solve the problems of our growing cities by the surgery of urban renewal.

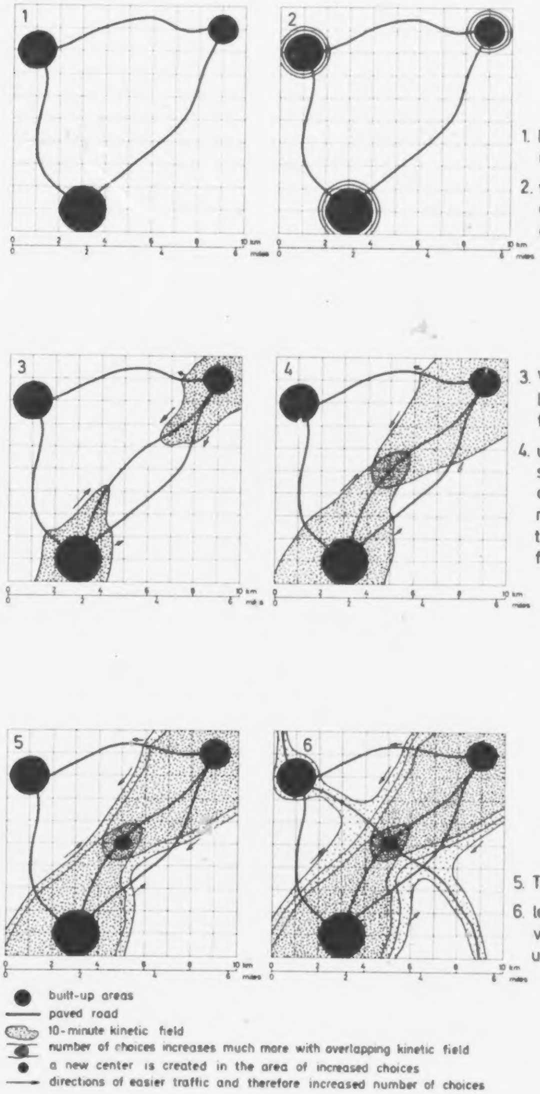
Such a path will keep us from utopian escapes, one dimensional approaches, and urban surgery; it will lead us towards the urban development we need.

## FOOTNOTE

[1] J. Gottmann, *Megalopolis, The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1961.)

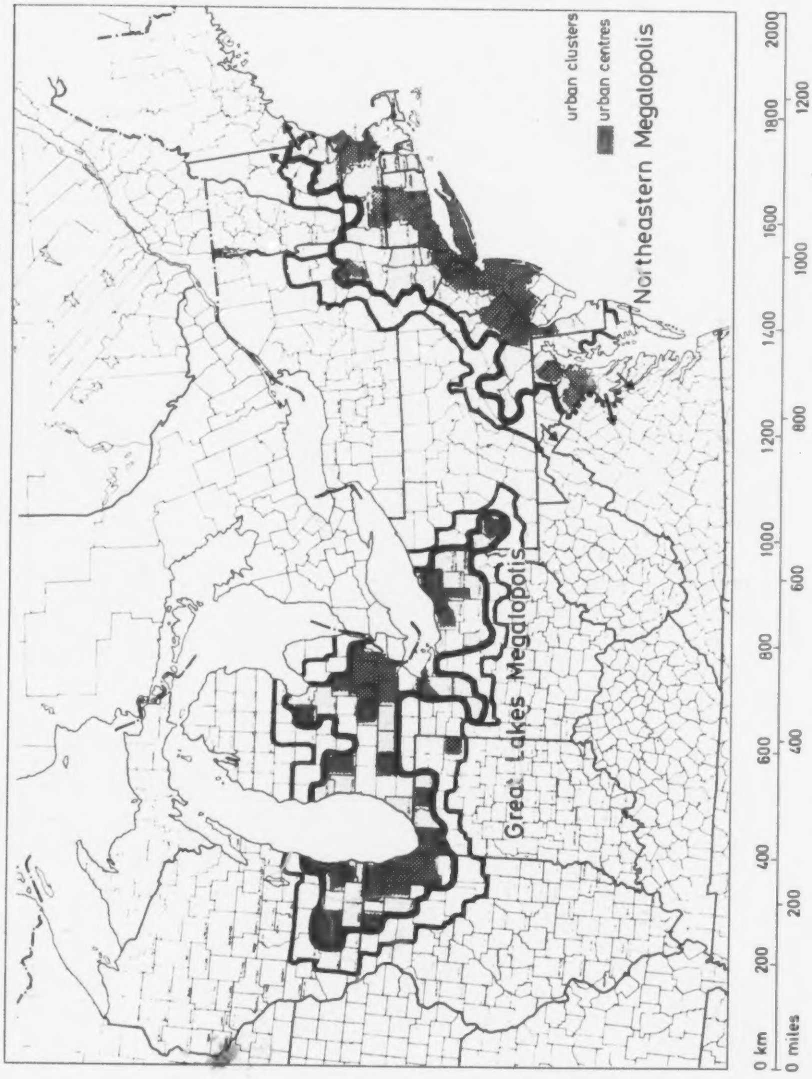
**See pages 233-249**
**for Figures 1-17**

**Figure 1. From a City of Pedestrians to an Urban System**


1
2
3
4
5
6
0 2 4 6 8 10 km
0 2 4 6 miles
built-up areas
paved road
10-minute kinetic field
number of choices increases much more with overlapping kinetic field
a new center is created in the area of increased choices
directions of easier traffic and therefore increased number of choices

1. In the past we had small isolated cities of pedestrians
2. which grew in concentric circles without reaching each other.
3. When machine transportation began, people started moving farther out of their cities
4. until they had moved out so far from two neighboring cities that they created a new one corresponding to the needs of those coming from both cities.
5. This new center of growth
6. led to new connections with other cities, and an urban system was born.

*Figure 2.* **The Northeastern and the Great Lakes Megalopolis**


urban clusters
urban centres
Northeastern Megalopolis
Great Lakes Megalopolis
0 km
200
400
600
800
1000
1200
1400
1600
1800
2000
0 miles
200
400
600
800
1000
1200

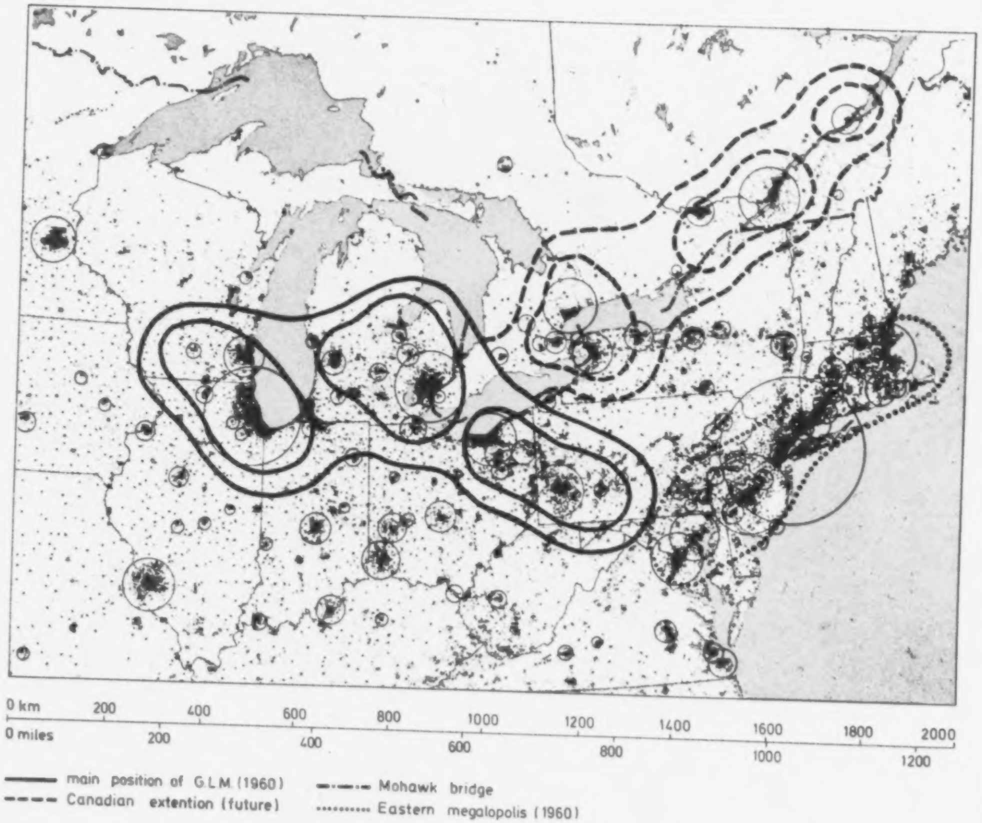

0 km
200
400
600
800
1000
1200
1400
1600
1800
2000
0 miles
200
400
600
800
1000
1200
main position of G.L.M. (1960)
Canadian extention (future)
Mohawk bridge
Eastern megalopolis (1960)

*Figure 3.* **Growing Megalopolitan Systems**

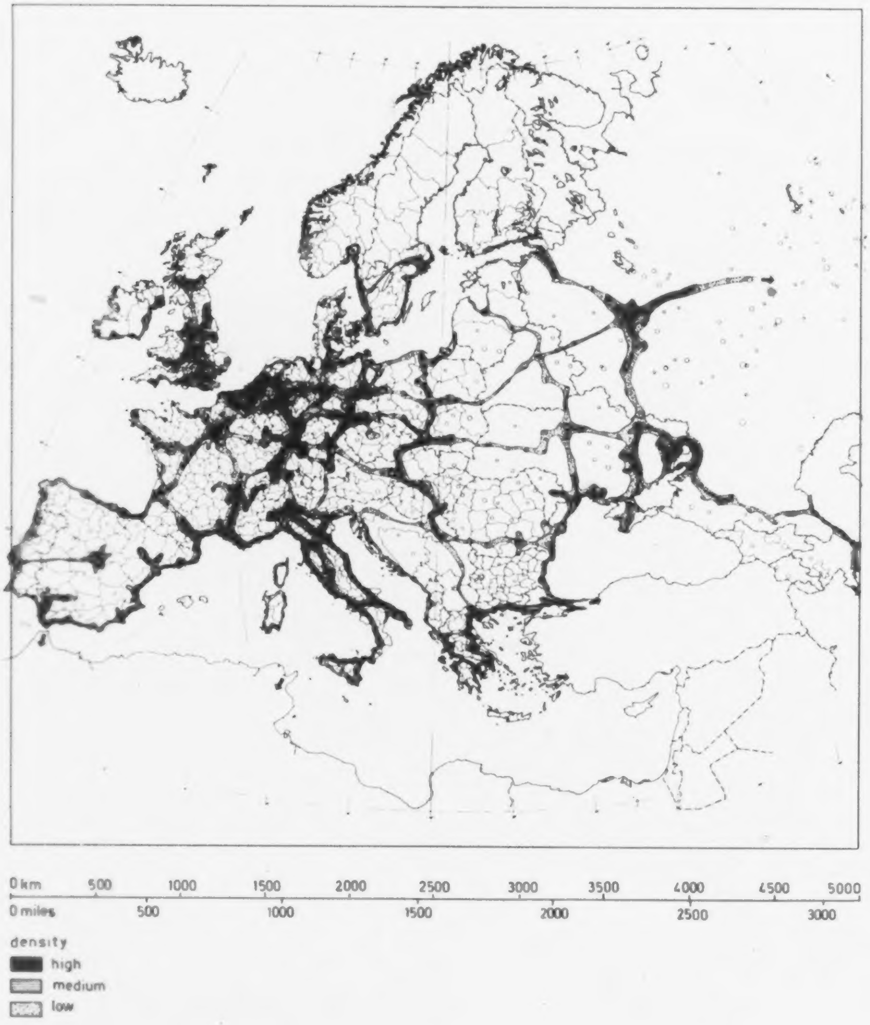


*Figure 4.* **Ecumenopolis in Europe**

0 km
500
1000
1500
2000
2500
3000
3500
4000
4500
5000
0 miles
500
1000
1500
2000
2500
3000
density
high
medium
low

**Figure 5. Ecumenopolis in the USA**

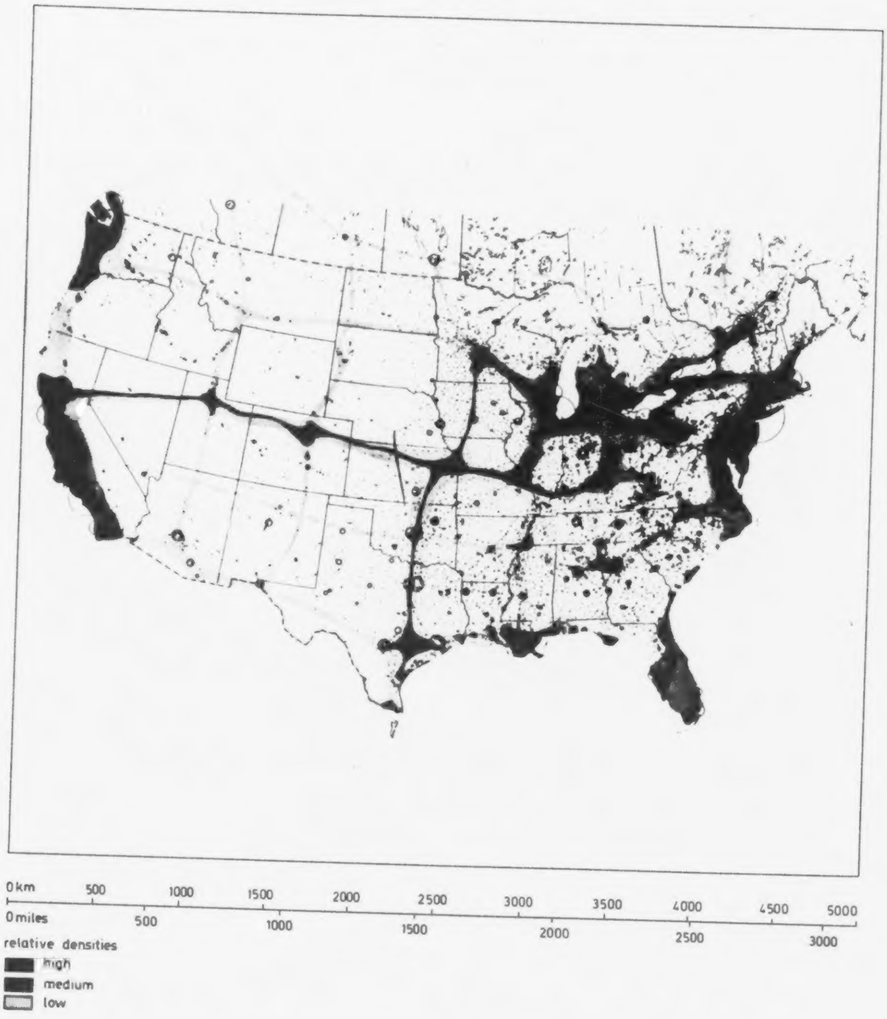
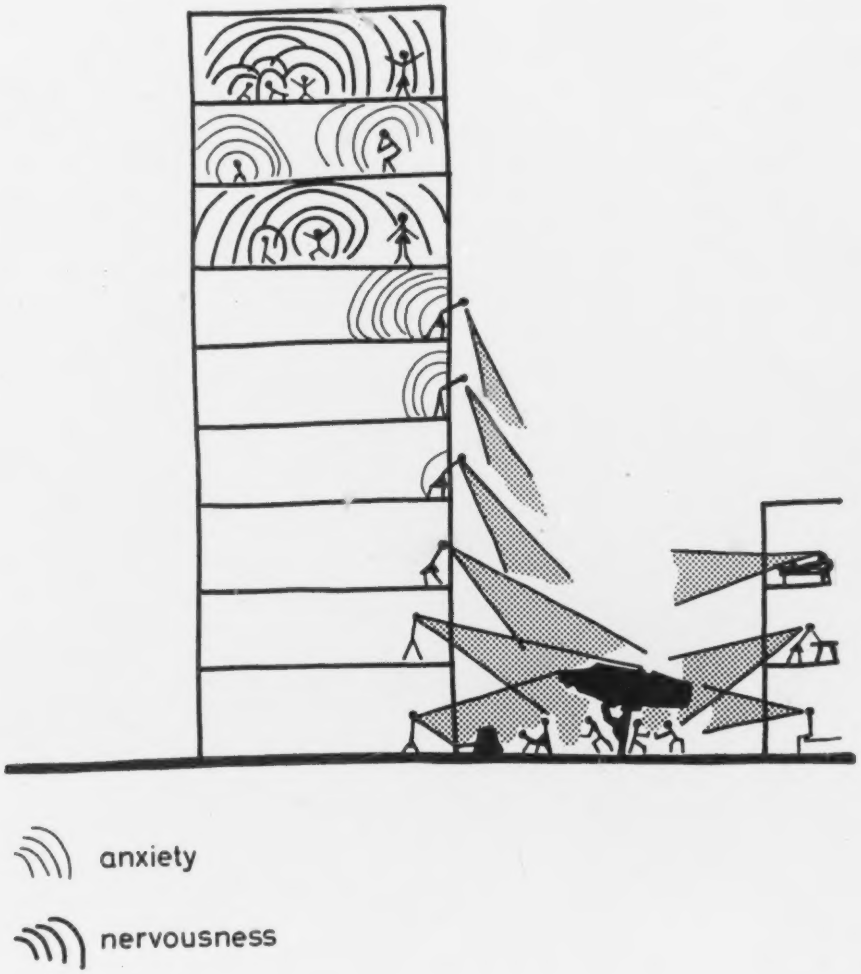
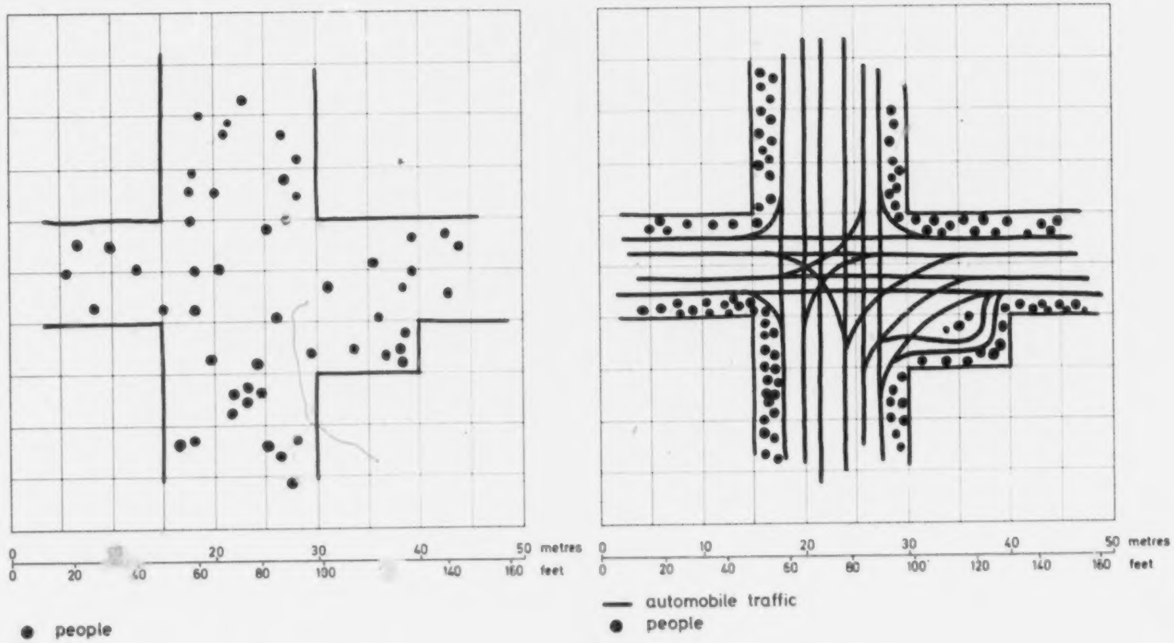

0 km
500
1000
1500
2000
2500
3000
3500
4000
4500
5000
0 miles
500
1000
1500
2000
2500
3000
relative densities
high
medium
low

**Figure 6.**

Multistorey Residential Buildings Create Problems for the Child and the Mother


anxiety
nervousness



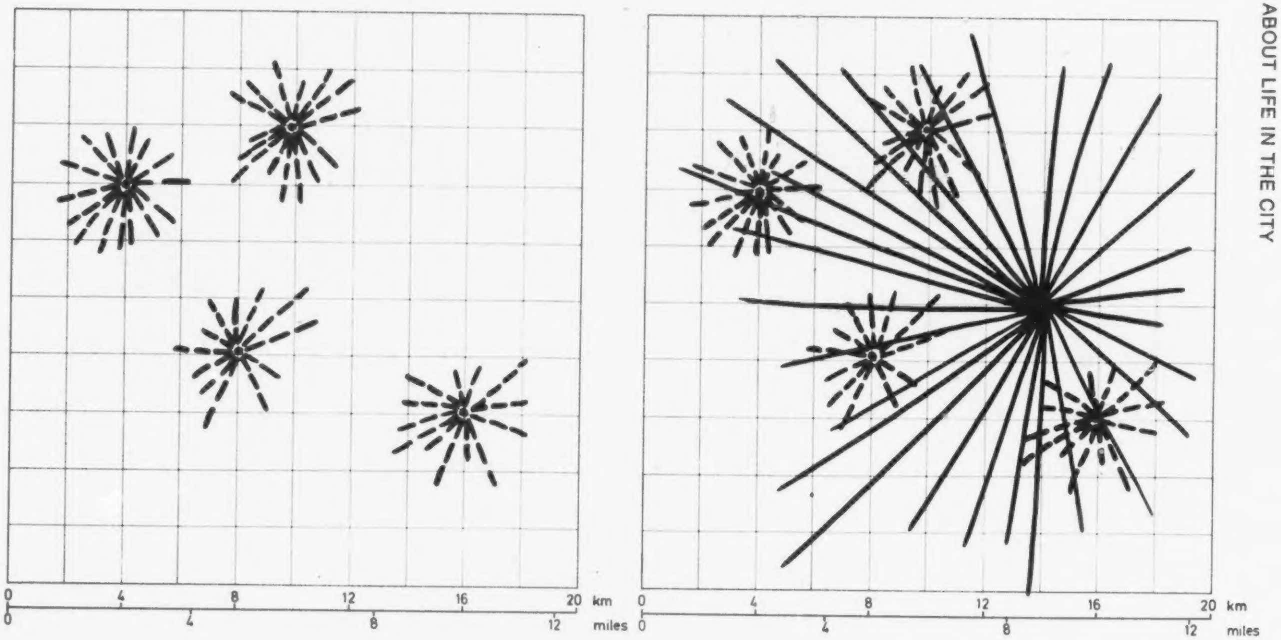
In the City of the Past the Citizen was Master of the Crossroads

In the City of the Present the Citizen is a Slave to the same Crossroads

0
20
30
40
50 metres
0
20
40
60
80
100
140
160 feet
● people
0
10
20
30
40
50 metres
0
20
40
60
80
100
120
140
160 feet
— automobile traffic
● people

*Figure 7.*

*Figure 8.* **Opportunities for Contact**

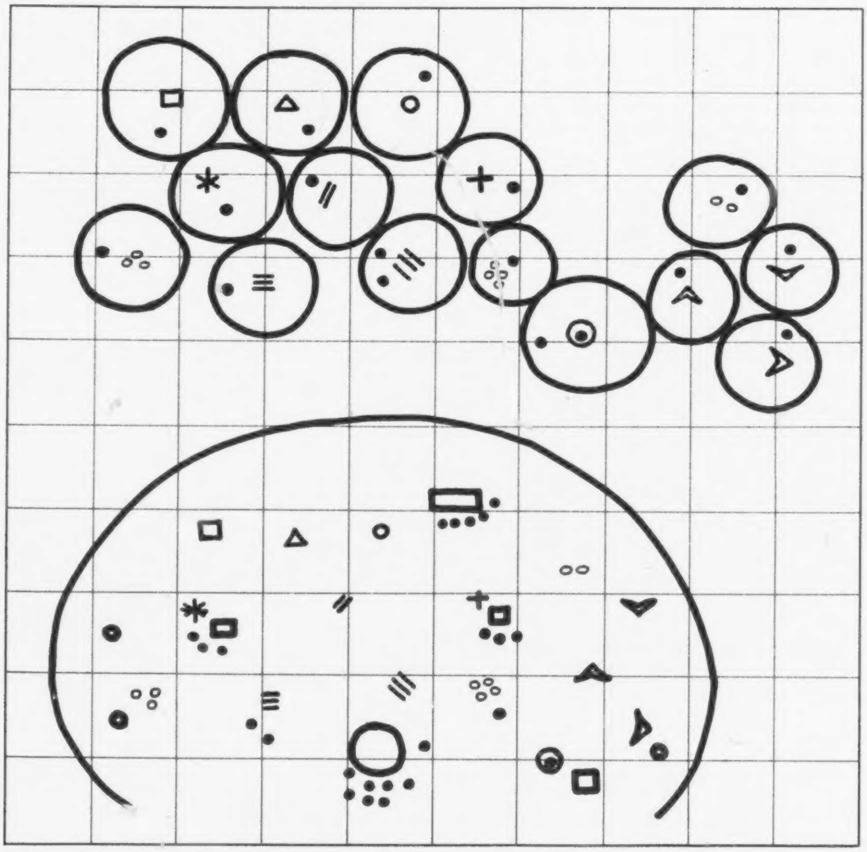


In the past, everybody had the same opportunities to make contacts.

Now some people can make as many contacts as they wish, while others can make only relatively few.

***Figure 9.***

Exposure Provides More Choices
In the villages there is one choice;
in the Urban Systems there are many



///▲□△+ local cultural patterns
● a certain type of person
○ ▭ new urban cultural centers

*Figure 10.* **The Basic Cells of the City of Man**

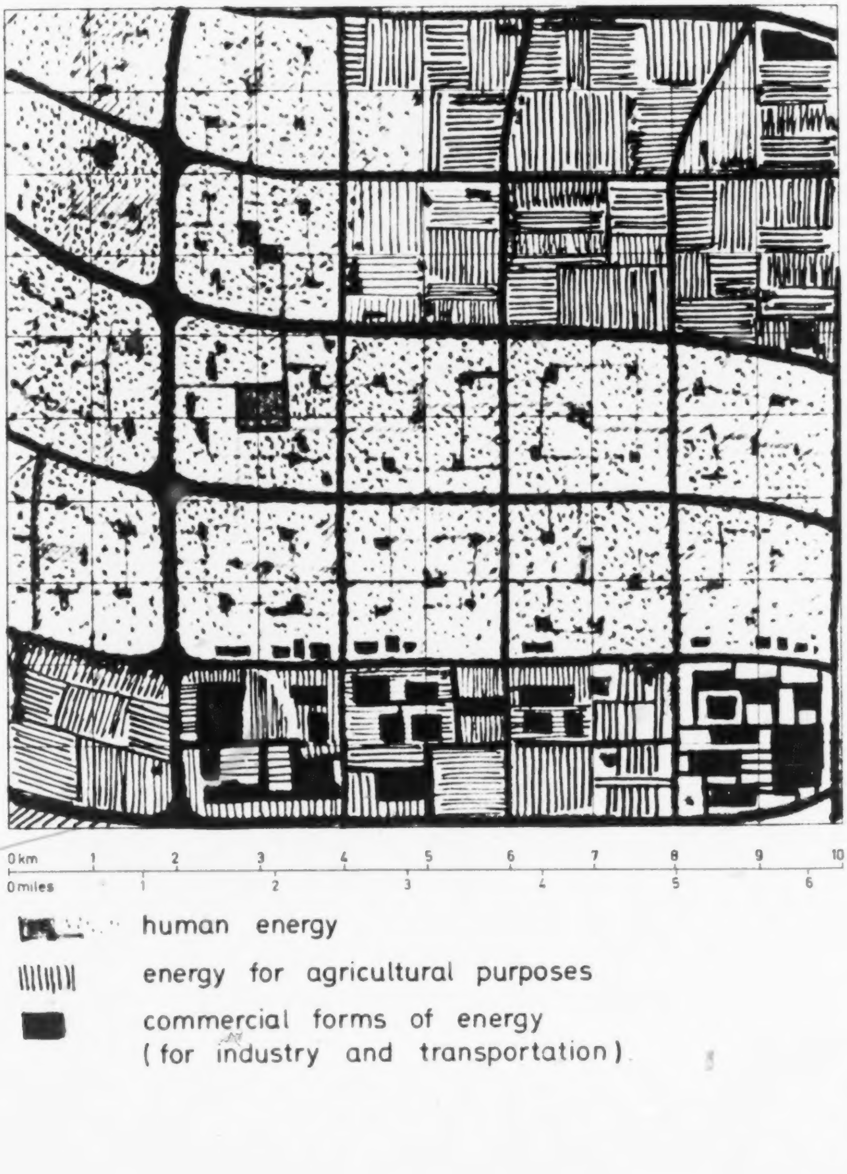
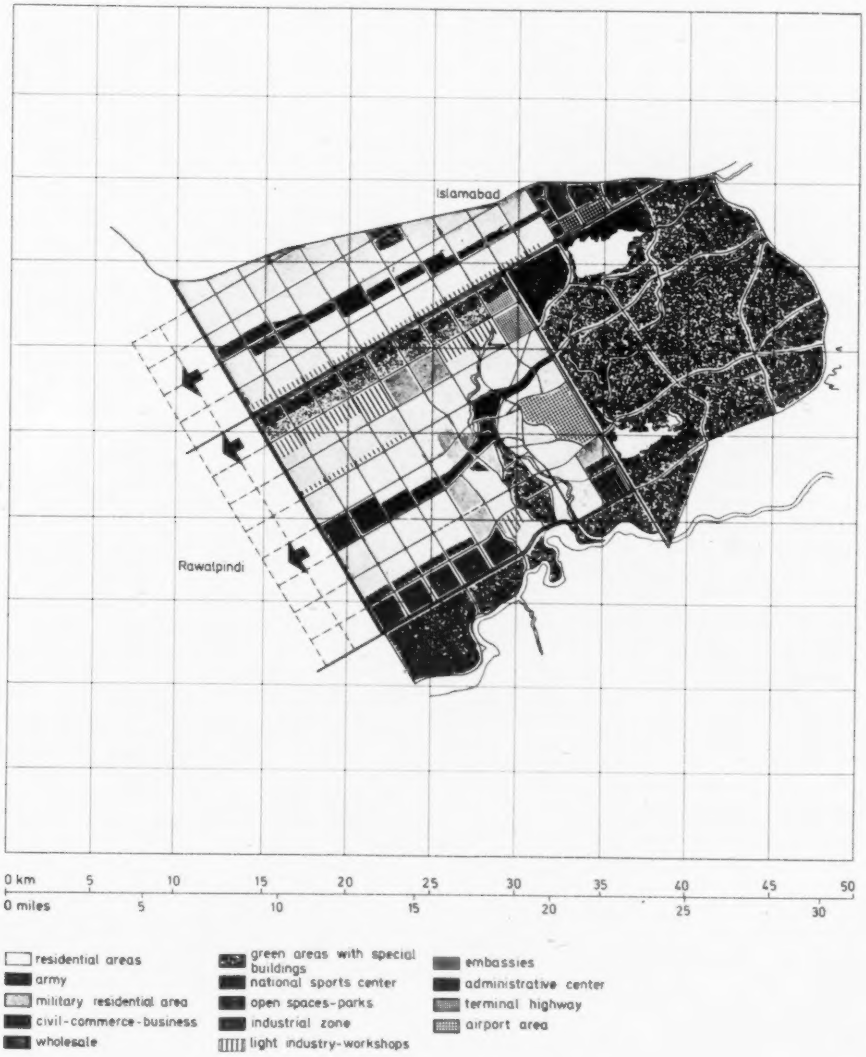

0 km
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
0 miles
1
2
3
4
5
6
human energy
energy for agricultural purposes
commercial forms of energy
( for industry and transportation )

***Figure 11.* Islamabad Master Plan (1960)**


Islamabad
Rawalpindi
0 km 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50
0 miles 5 10 15 20 25 30
residential areas
army
military residential area
civil-commerce-business
wholesale
green areas with special buildings
national sports center
open spaces-parks
industrial zone
light industry-workshops
embassies
administrative center
terminal highway
airport area

7

*Figure 12.* **First Sectors of Islamabad, Pakistan, Planned in 1960**

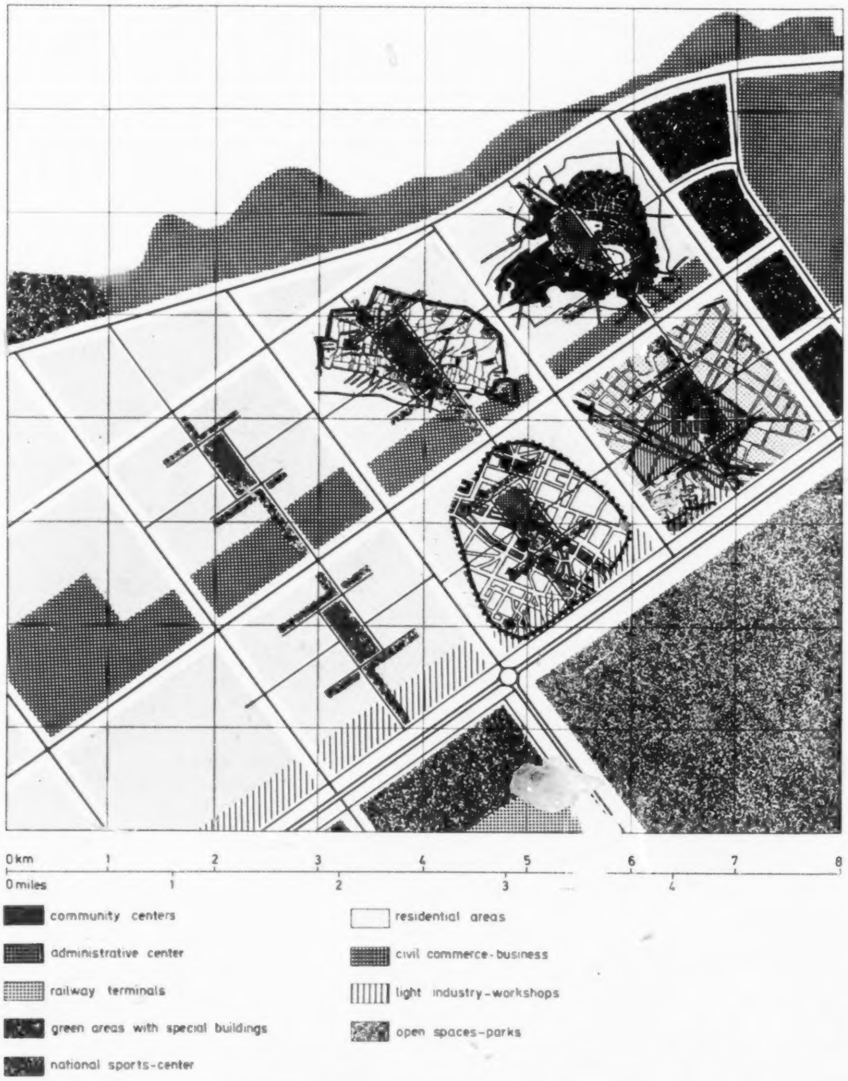

0 km
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
0 miles
1
2
3
4
community centers
administrative center
railway terminals
green areas with special buildings
national sports-center
residential areas
civil commerce-business
light industry-workshops
open spaces-parks

**Figure 13.** The Urban Renewal Project of Eastwick, Philadelphia

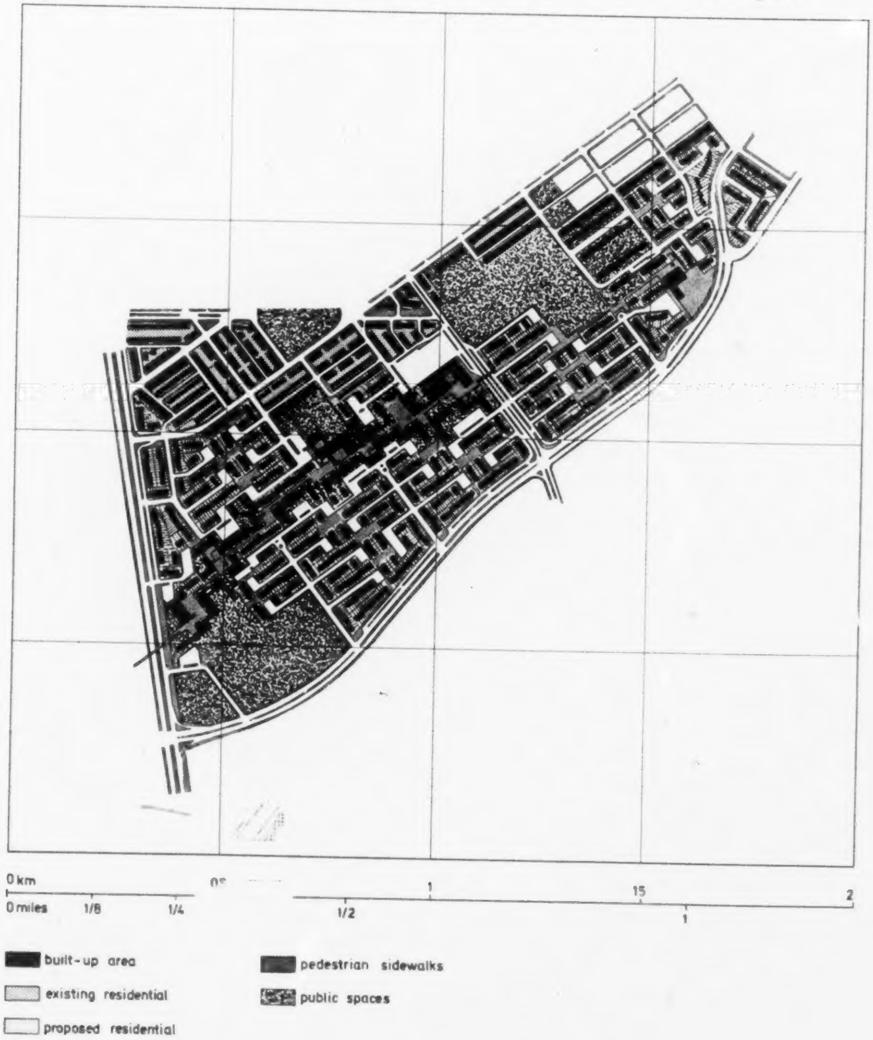

0 km
1
15
2
0 miles
1/8
1/4
1/2
1
built-up area
pedestrian sidewalks
existing residential
public spaces
proposed residential

Figure 14. Daily Urban Systems

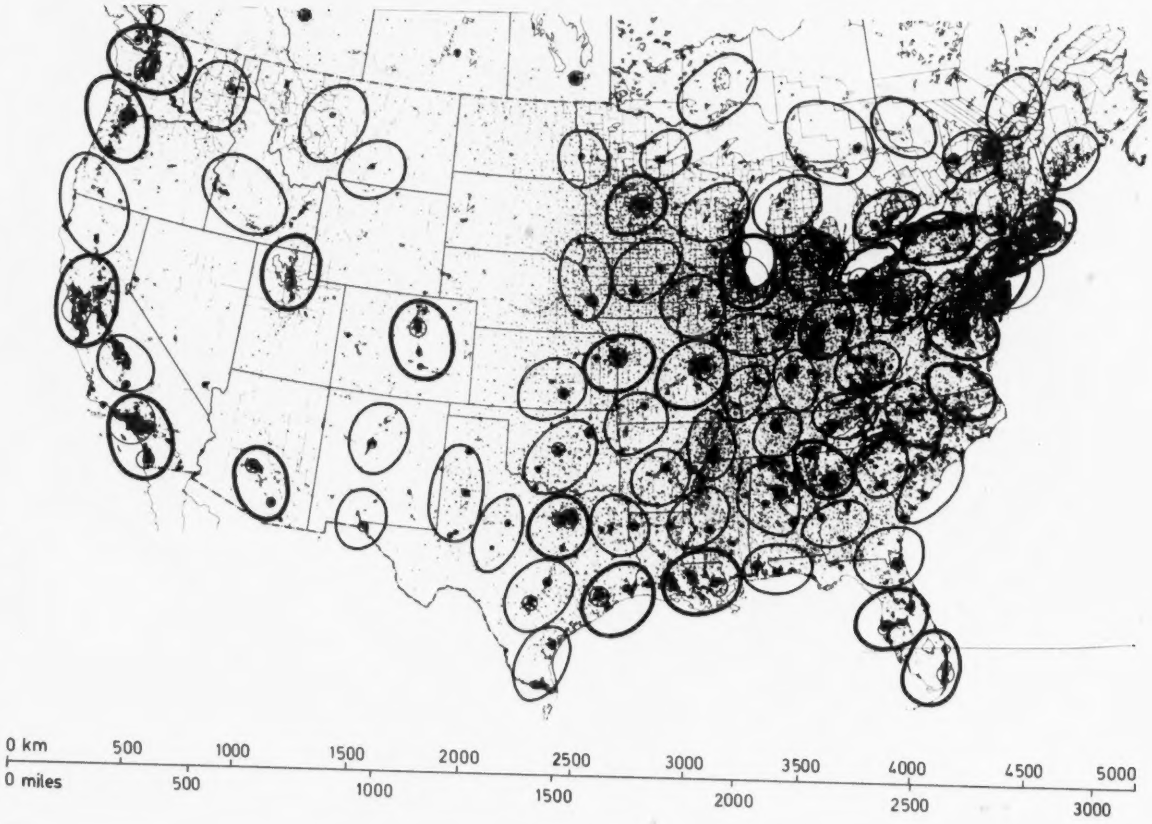

0 km
500
1000
1500
2000
2500
3000
3500
4000
4500
5000
0 miles
500
1000
1500
2000
2500
3000

***Figure 15.* Infiltration of Open Land into the Urban Detroit Area for the Year 2000**

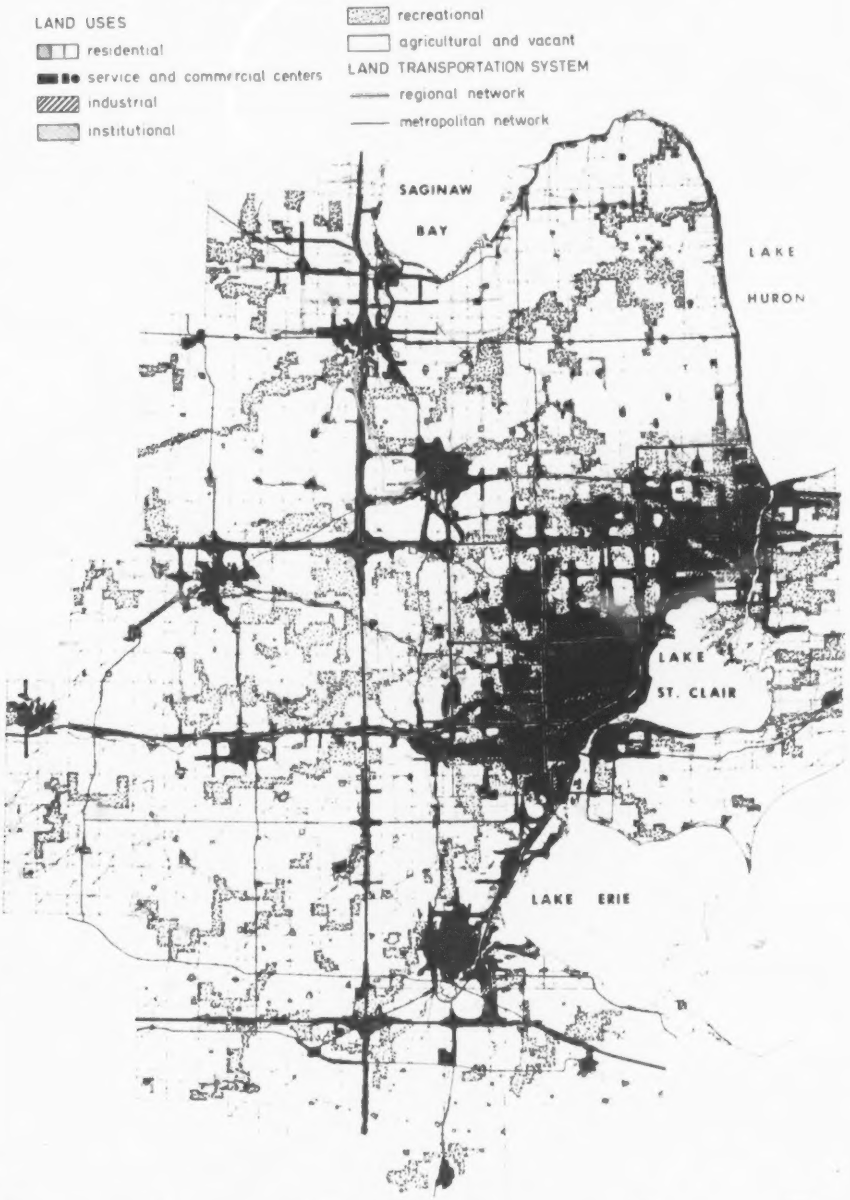

LAND USES
residential
service and commercial centers
industrial
institutional
recreational
agricultural and vacant
LAND TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM
regional network
metropolitan network
SAGINAW BAY
LAKE HURON
LAKE ST. CLAIR
LAKE ERIE
0 km
50
100
150
200
250
0 miles
50
100
150

***Figure 16.* Infiltration of Open Land into the Urban Detroit Area for the Year 2100**

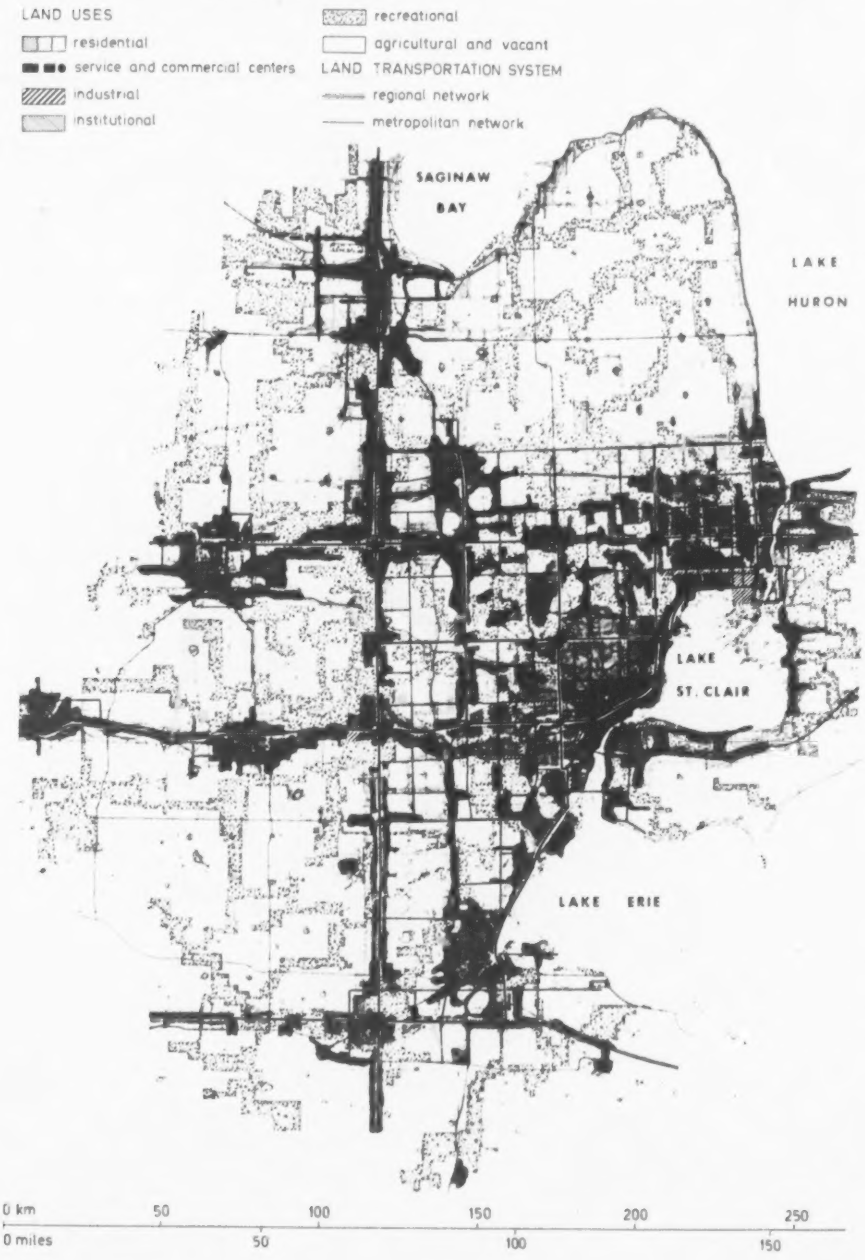
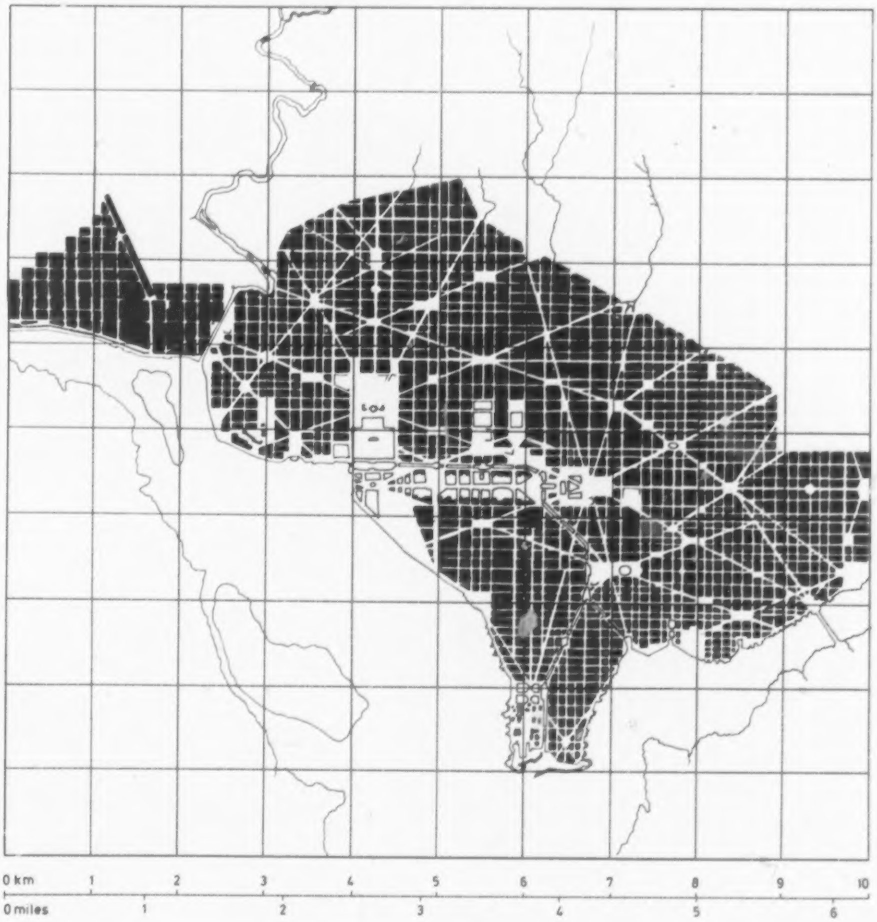
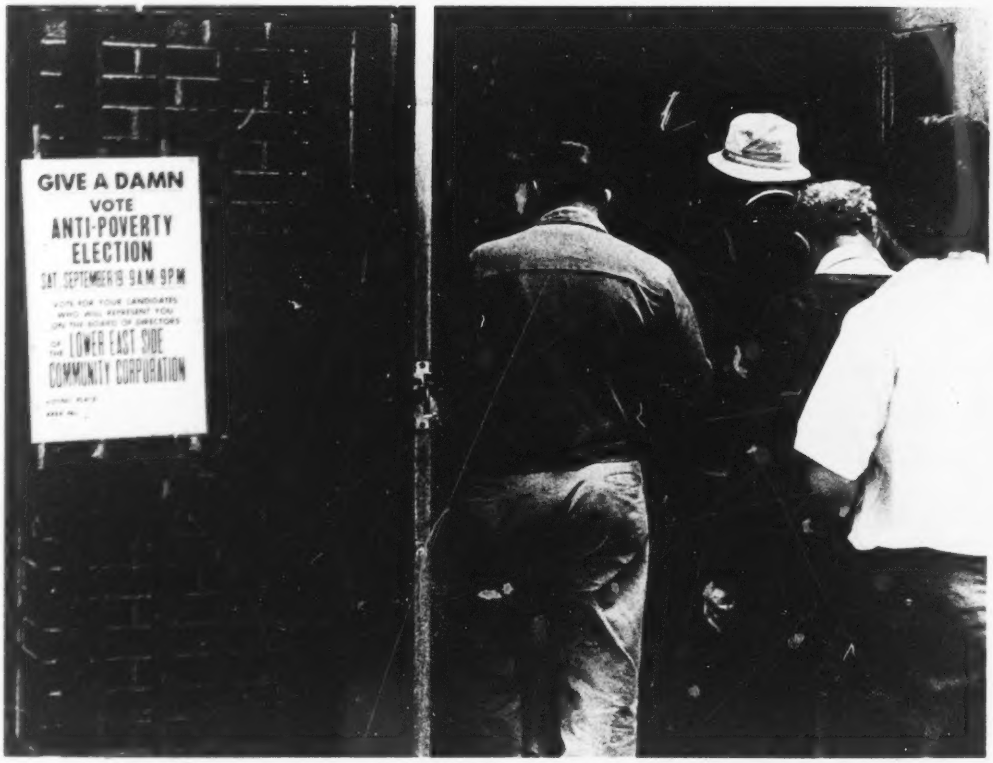

LAND USES
residential
service and commercial centers
industrial
institutional
recreational
agricultural and vacant
LAND TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM
regional network
metropolitan network
SAGINAW BAY
LAKE HURON
LAKE ST. CLAIR
LAKE ERIE
0 km
50
100
150
200
250
0 miles
50
100
150

*Figure 17.* **Washington, D. C. as Planned in 1791 by L'Enfant**


0 km
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
0 miles
1
2
3
4
5
6

262


GIVE A DAMN
VOTE
ANTI-POVERTY
ELECTION
SAT. SEPTEMBER 19 9 A.M. 9 P.M.
VOTE FOR YOUR CANDIDATES
WHO WILL REPRESENT YOU
ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF THE LOWER EAST SIDE
COMMUNITY CORPORATION
VOTING PLACE
AREA NO.

# 10. Social Studies Teachers and the Future

## Richard H. Davis and Pauline H. Tesler

Richard H. Davis *is Dean of the School of Education at the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee. Earning all three of his degrees at the University of Chicago, Dean Davis has been a street club worker in Chicago, a social studies teacher in Park Forest, Illinois, and a member of the staff of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. He is particularly concerned with replacing the heavy emphasis on compensatory education with all of its negative connotations with a far greater reliance on the strengths found in each cultural group in our society. Deeply involved in efforts to reform teacher education so that it is far more oriented to urban problems and potentials, Dean Davis has come in close contact with a number of the alternate life styles described in the article coauthored with* Pauline Tesler.

Pauline H. Tesler *is a student in the Law School at the University of Wisconsin—Madison. Earning a bachelor's degree from Radcliffe College, Ms. Tesler has continued her graduate study at the University of Manchester in England. She has taught humanities courses at the junior college level. In recent years, while on the staff of the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, she worked on a number of program development activities. She is particularly interested in concepts that extend definitions of education and of educational environments beyond those restricted to classrooms and school buildings.*

◆

### Introduction

This chapter is an effort to project some possibilities and probabilities for the future, an effort which scholars seldom undertake because nothing one says about the future can be proven with data from the past and present. Scholars generally restrict themselves to saying things which will go relatively unchallenged; indeed, the best argument for academics is one which cannot be refuted. But we have come to believe that sticking to certainties leaves the most important questions unexamined, and that it is imperative for scholars and teachers to develop a strong future-orientation in their thinking. Change is so rapid today that the future comes far more quickly than we anticipate.

When we propose thinking about the future, we mean not one or five years hence, but decades from today. We suggest that such thinking is particularly urgent for the social studies teacher, and we ourselves engage in it in this chapter. It may be that few of our projections will happen. Events may take a very different course. For one thing, tendencies toward political repression may lead us closer to a police state and thus revitalize political resistance and revolutionary activities. But we are attempting to project the most positive directions we can see for education, based upon current social trends. What we wish to emphasize is not that our predictions will come about in precisely this form, but rather that professional educators must begin serious, positive speculation about what their future role is to be, or else find themselves unprepared for any positive role at all.

As the foundations of American education continue to be shaken by the demands of students for creative, honest, realistic, humanistic teachers and programs, many educators are coming to believe that either educational institutions will undergo a renaissance, or they will wither away. Universities which resist change are finding their enrollments diminishing, and it has been true for almost a decade that some of the brightest young people eschew "higher education" entirely. Though attendance in some kind of school is compulsory in most states until the age of 16, alternatives are being provided by the community school-free school movement for children and parents who dislike the public schools. Even with a growing share of the children attending alternative schools, public elementary and junior high schools can still count on having enough students—however bored or alienated they may be—to assure their continued existence. This, however, is not the case for high schools.

In fact, high schools may well become the first institutional casualty in American education. Since a growing number of universities are showing flexibility and openness to change, admitting students who can demonstrate their abilities in a variety of unconventional ways other than transcripts and aptitude tests, a high school diploma is no longer absolutely essential for admission to college; and considering recent Supreme Court decisions which require job qualifications to be specifically related to skills needed on that job, the high school diploma may very well become, if not completely obsolete, then at very most an optional means of demonstrating competence. Since urban high schools regularly graduate numbers of students who are functional illiterates, and who can offer few useful skills in other areas, it is certainly a positive step for colleges and employers finally to recognize the emptiness of that diploma.

In short, a growing number of students over sixteen may soon be free of the coercion in the name of the diploma which has kept them bored, rebellious, but still meeting minimum high school attendance requirements. And when students are free to attend or not, high schools will either offer a kind of education which challenges young people and extends their abilities to live positive lives in their world, or high schools will lose their students.

Social studies teachers are centrally involved in this question of whether high schools deserve to survive, because they have for the most part allowed the teaching of social studies to decay into a sterile, fragmented, and dated exercise in irrelevance. Students presumably need social studies to expand and deepen their understanding of man's relationship to his society and his world. But in our rapidly changing urban environment, some young people seem to know far more about the *realities* of American society than do their teachers. For most history and other social studies teachers, change consists merely of reluctant, piecemeal alterations in set curricula established years ago. These changes are often the result not of the educators' vision, but of student demands. As long as social studies teachers are being dragged into the future by their students, we can see no reason why a reasonably intelligent seventeen-year-old who watches television and listens to the local "underground" radio station would want to study with such people. If social studies teachers must be taught social realities by their students, social studies is likely to be the first department in the high school to lose its clientele; it presently has little to offer which cannot be discovered in richer form outside the school.

There are many forces which are working to change our society more rapidly and extensively than it has ever changed before. Young people are on the whole far more attuned to these changes than are the adults who "teach" and "lead" them. Young people are already having to cope with the needs and pressures associated with post-industrial society; they can certainly use all the help, in the way of new skills and understandings, that a revitalized system of education could offer them. Instead, they are offered obsolescent institutions created to meet the needs of an industrial society, and too many obsolescent teachers who lack the vision to understand why what has always been done will no longer do.

### Changes Having Impact on the Development of Children

Next we examine some patterns of change evident in urban life which are already producing children with experiences and world views far broader and more sophisticated than was ever possible before this decade.

Until very recently, the history of change was largely a history of new things replacing old. The automobile rapidly replaced the horse-drawn buggy, and the choice involved was simple: you can have your model A in any color you want, as long as it's black. Today, change means accretion: a person intending to research the new car market thoroughly before buying must contend with such an array of Mustangs, Gremlins, AMXs, and so many options in each category, that true comparison shopping becomes impossible because of information overload. Cars, further, are not the only possible choice: there are motor bicycles, scooters, motorcycles, small airplanes, helicopters, amphibious vehicles, hydroplanes, dune buggies, snowmobiles. Every invention is added to the existing alternatives, and only mistakes as massive as the Edsel are ordinarily discontinued.

A similar accretion is evident, and accelerating, in the basic areas of food, shelter, and clothing. Vegetables and fruit from every climate, season, and nation are available year-round in large urban supermarkets. Instead of our grandparents' meat and two vegetables, it is not unusual for young adults to serve meals combining elements of Mexican, Jewish, French, and Zen cookery into varied meals which make the exotic commonplace. Options in housing, though not as numerous, are extensive and increasing. One can, with moderate income, buy or rent a home in the city, suburb, country; or buy into a condominium or co-op; rent a flat or penthouse; renovate a church or commercial loft for living; live in a storefront or a geodesic dome; or live cooperatively in large communal dwellings. It is even possible to live as an urban hermit, tapping the excess resources of the modern city in the manner of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man,* while retaining almost complete anonymity. Clothing, long dominated by sequential dictates of fashion arbiters, has become a costume ball of diversity, with men and women expressing individuality through color, texture, and design without concern for convention, or even for sexual differentiation.

The same diversity, as Alvin Toffler has pointed out,[1] is happening with regard to life styles; where formerly there was a rather limited range of models such as farmer, businessman, professional, laborer, one now finds urban sub-cultures offering complete life styles based on a range of purposes or philosophies. Since the "beatniks" came to the attention of the media in the Fifties and slowly spread around the nation to form a youth culture, the time required for the birth of a sub-culture has diminished to as little as a year or two. As soon as a new social movement appears, mass media spread a bastardized version into the broader culture: Black is beautiful; turn on—tune in—drop out; "You've come a long way, baby." Long after the originators may have moved on to something new, the ripples of their sub-culture still gather new adherents.

This process of accretion works in the neighborhoods of cities, too, where the time required for a neighborhood to "change" has diminished to as little as one or two years. San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury, for example, was born and died within the space of about five years. Few cities today have any *paedia,* i.e., an integrated character which is identifiable and unique. It is increasingly difficult to make any useful generalizations about big cities today, because they are fragmented into district communities and sub-cultures, and no melting pot is going to fuse them into a whole. Gross population information is already of limited usefulness as a criterion for the size of a city. Milwaukee and San Francisco may be inhabited by roughly the same number of people, but if the criterion of cultural diversity is applied, the latter is a much bigger place.

One thing this accelerating pace of diversity means for education is that the world, for a child born today, is going to be a fantastically different and more complex environment than anything his older teachers have experienced. Perhaps 90 percent of what today's infant will need to study during the course of his education has not even been discovered, invented, or designed yet.[2] His life options will be far more varied than ours, and his decision-making tasks will be far more complex, not only in regard to his major life decisions, but down to the smallest aspects of his daily life. Education ought to be gearing up to be of some assistance in this process—and it has a long way to go from its present role as an inhibitor of change.

Let us look more closely at what life might be like for a child born today, so that we can begin to speculate intelligently about what directions professional educators must take if they are to be of any use at all. Presently, children have relatively few models for adult roles: worker, suburbanite, welfare recipient, member of youth culture, and a few more. But as present trends toward computerization and increased leisure time free people from the necessity of spending all their time in real or symbolic factories earning money, there will be a spiraling number of simultaneous options open to the child—options for which he should be educated.

Ultimately related to decisions about work and leisure will be the wide range of alternative life styles. Combinations of living, working, and consumer patterns based upon sex, communal living units, economic cooperation plans, education, music—in fact, any imaginable combination—are likely to exist; constant choice will be a normal condition. Much latitude will be permitted for these options in life styles, reflecting the diversity of urban people, environments, and human interactions.

Norman Mailer recognized this tendency in his campaign for Mayor of New York City. In the city of the future, he speculated,

> So might there yet be towns within the city which were homosexual, and whole blocks legally organized for married couples who thought the

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> orgy was ground for the progressive action of the day. And there would be mournful areas of the city deserted on Sunday, all suitable for the mood of masturbators who liked the open air and the street, perhaps even pseudo-Victorian quarters where brothels could again be found. There could be city turfs steaming with the nuances of bisexuals living on top of bisexuals, and funky tracts for old-fashioned lovers where the man was the rock of the home; there would always be horizons blocked by housing projects vast as the legislation which had gone into the division of household duties between women and men.[3]

In the arts, recreation, and consumer goods, technology will continue to provide expanding options at the same time that automation and computerization of industry increase the leisure time which each person must make choices to fill. Benjamin DeMott, president of Sarah Lawrence College, has argued that educating people to find fulfilling ways of spending leisure time is the nation's most urgent priority. He foresees a society in which no one will work except by choice, where the distinctions between leisure time and work will fall away, and where people will face the challenge of deciding upon the activities which will bring them pleasure.

Given such diversity of choice, no one will be able to keep pace with all developments existing simultaneously. The life style becomes, in such a society, a convenient organizing focus for eliminating extraneous options from the field of choice. Thus, we find the relatively recent phenomenon of adopting—and discarding—whole life styles as one's current manner of living ceases to offer variety or challenge. The lawyer who drops his practice at age thirty-five to take up the hip life in the Virgin Islands is not unusual today, nor is the reverse phenomenon, the hippie-turned-entrepreneur.

Educators should recognize the implications of this tendency: people will need to be able to evaluate their personal needs, and to choose appropriate life styles for successive stages of growth throughout their lives. Complacency about one's present solution is already becoming impossible in the face of the alternative values and styles which, however subtly, call one's own choices into question. Even a housewife locked into her daily routine in the home is confronted with television, radio, and the daily mail, offering alternatives which force her constantly to reevaluate the choices she has made, or to suffer the vague discontent which Betty Friedan has labeled "The Problem That Has No Name."[4]

Though increasing leisure will free people from dull jobs, the human need for productive activity will make available to society a great well of potential individual creativity unlike anything we have known before. Schools formerly served society best by fitting people for work in industry, as laborers, managers, or professionals. The most useful skills and traits were efficiency, obedience, patience, and tolerance for repetitious tasks with little intrinsic personal satisfaction; as a result, the rhetoric of liberating individual creativity was seldom actualized. But now, as leisure increases, it becomes a social imperative that education for maximum individual creativity and self-direction become a reality. The implications of this fact for education are truly revolutionary. Despite President Nixon's call for a return to the work ethic, people will not have to work out of habit or guilt. John Morgan, a British television producer who sees present patterns in California as early forms of twenty-first century life, claims "the future will be work-shy. People are made for singing and dancing and interacting with others."[5] The realm of education will be to help people explore Buckminster Fuller's question: "What was it I was thinking that fascinated me so, before I was told I had to do something else in order to make a living."[6] In the words of Robert M. Hutchins:

> It seems probable that we are entering a post-industrial age in which the issue is not how to produce or even distribute goods, but how to live human lives, not how to strengthen and enrich the nation state, but how to make the world a decent habitation for mankind.[7]

In light of these fundamental and far-reaching changes in the nature of urban life in the near future, education will certainly undergo deep changes in purpose, scope, and philosophy. Whatever the individual's background, ambition, or ability, his education will have to help him to develop at least these crucial skills: the ability to learn rapidly by analyzing and selecting from a vast data pool; the ability to move easily and quickly from abstract to concrete and back; the ability to minimize the negative psychological effects of change and maximize the positive effects; the ability to relate to others and to cooperate easily; the ability to develop a clear understanding of the intimate relationships between values, institutions, environments, life styles, and occupations.

## Changes in Institutions

Social studies teachers should be centrally involved in creating a new kind of education for the future because they are directly responsible for helping students comprehend the society's institutions and processes and the individual's relationship to them. If social studies teachers are going to be of any use to their students, they need to offer a highly sophisticated understanding of present and projected social realities. Particularly, at present, they need to comprehend and teach in a non-judgmental manner about the changes taking place in some of the basic institutions developed in this country to meet the needs of an earlier industrial society: the nuclear family, marriage, religion, law, and education, to name a few. Social institutions will be changing quite rapidly in coming decades to keep up with, or at least in sight of, current behavior. This is the true realm of the social studies teacher.

Though we often think of the nuclear family—mother, father, and children—as the normal way of arranging human relationships, and though our textbooks reflect this assumption about the normal pattern of life, the fact is that the history of the nuclear family is quite short. Its pattern is an aberration of tribal and extended family arrangements which have characterized human society for by far the greatest part of its history. The nuclear family was an adaptation to the needs of emerging industrial societies which required workers who could move about freely to where the jobs were. The nuclear unit—husband, wife, and children—was the smallest unit with the greatest mobility.

Though our assumptions about child development are based upon the conditions supplied in the nuclear family, conditions epitomized in the Dick and Jane readers, psychologists offer much evidence that despite our prejudices, children can do very well when raised in units very different from the nuclear family. The extended matriarchies in the Black community are one example. In fact, some psychologists and critics link youthful dissatisfaction, widespread drug abuse, and other characteristics of today's middle-class young people to negative effects of child development within the highly concentrated, often tension-ridden atmosphere at the nuclear family structure. According to a South African psychoanalyst, Dr. David Cooper, the nuclear family is the "ultimately perfected form of non-meeting."[8]

Young adults are experimenting extensively with new models for adult relationships and child-rearing arrangements, many of them based upon communal principles which allow children (and adults) the advantages of living in a community of adults who share a common concern for the group's children. These alternative models meet with heavy resistance from those who consider the nuclear family and Dr. Spock the last word in family relations. But more open-minded theorists agree that many of these alternatives are different from but not inferior to the nuclear family. As Erik Erickson observes in *Identity, Youth and Crisis,*[9] as long as child-rearing practices succeed in providing a child with his basic needs—nourishment, security, and autonomy—all other decisions about his nurture are matters of choice which will influence what kind of personality he develops. The nuclear family fosters certain characteristics, the commune others, and neither can claim any intrinsic superiority.

As experimentation continues, we can expect to see more and more models of family structure become available to our children, ranging from the nuclear family and the extended family to communal arrangements and even institutional child-rearing.* Social studies teachers, regardless of their personal preferences, must be able to present the best of these alternatives as representing valid means toward valid ends.

Marriage is changing even more rapidly than the family. The transformation from a rigidly controlled institution based upon the demands of religion and property to one based upon human needs will soon be complete. Ever since romantic love was made the ostensible basis for marriage, replacing property or family alliance-based arrangements, the impossibility of making a permanent contract to love for life has made divorce almost as commonplace as marriage. In most places, laws do not yet reflect this overwhelming change in practice, but in Sweden, illegitimacy does not exist in law, and in California one can terminate a marriage almost as easily and cheaply as buying a pair of boots.[10] Only last year, two members of the Maryland State Legislature attempted to introduce a bill which would permit three-year marriage contracts, renewable with the agreement of both partners. And in Tennessee, several hundred people have set up a commune made up of family units of four adults in group marriage. Robert Rimmer, one of a new type of social novelist speculating seriously—if clumsily—about the future, suggests that soon group marriages will be a legal reality.[11] Certainly, lifelong marriage will continue as one alternative among a number of equally valid choices, from which people can select the specific contract with one or more people of either sex which meets their needs. In this light, our assumptions about marriage and sexual roles will require extensive revision. Indeed, children's books already are beginning to reflect some of the diversity of adult relationships, and one psychiatrist has written a handbook on divorce for the benefit of children who are too often forced to work out the difference between myth and reality for themselves.[12]

Perhaps the most dramatic transformation is occurring in religion. There is a new acceptance today of a multiplicity of new and ancient religions, faiths, and philosophies. It is as if our society has given up neat certainties and is instead willing to take enlightenment wherever it can be found. One sign of this is the loosening of the criteria for conscientious objector status to include those whose moral objections to war are not based upon belief in a Supreme Being. Other manifestations of the transformation of religion can be found in current widespread interest in Zen and other Oriental systems, astrology, Tarot, witchcraft, meditation, and drug-induced states of altered consciousness. Even in the church proper, there is a new diversity which extends from the God-is-dead movement to the most current manifestation, the Jesus People. Acceptance of such diversity is new to America, but it is an idea at least as old as Plato, who noted that truth is found not in pure form, but surrounded by a variety of myths.

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* Certainly value judgments can be made about such practices as beating children or forcing them to labor, but these judgments are not absolute but are based upon judgments about what kind of people we want these children to become. One possible criterion for child-rearing systems is the degree to which they create environments which foster positive character traits such as creativity and confidence.

Given this rich ferment of interest in man's spiritual dimension, the personal preferences of teachers ought not prevent students from being exposed to many ways of expanding the spiritual aspects of their experience. Aldous Huxley's *Island* explores in some depth a culture in which self-transcendent experiences constitute pivotal educational experience through an individual's life, up to and including the experience of death.[13] Many humanistic psychologists agree that our educational system lacks aesthetic-spiritual depth. Abraham Maslow goes so far as to observe, "it is possible to think of the peak experience, the experience of awe, mystery, wonder, or of perfect completion, as the goal and reward of learning . . . its end as well as its beginning."[14] Social studies teachers alone may not be able to achieve for their students so thoroughly integrated a system of spiritual development, but they *can* begin to explore with their students the positive elements of the spiritual renaissance we seem to be living in.

Another institution experiencing a significant shift toward a more humanistic awareness is the law. In this country, the laws, traditionally biased in favor of property and its possessors, have always reflected middle-class values and standards of behavior. This bias is slowly but perceptibly shifting as a broader conception of due process and of social justice leads us to new definitions of individual and corporate freedom and responsibility.

The law is already having to accommodate on the one hand a far greater range of life styles and attendant behaviors than ever before, and on the other hand a whole new range of social priorities accompanying our transition into a post-industrial society. So, for example, nineteenth-century sexual legislation regarding contraceptives, homosexuality, abortion, and other common practices is either being struck down or being ignored. Marijuana use is now so commonplace that many judges and policemen are simply looking the other way. And while individual freedom is being recognized by the law in new ways, traditional laissez-faire corporate freedom is beginning to be restricted in the areas where it does the most obvious and most irrevocable damage, e.g., pollution of the environment, unsafe products, contaminated foods, useless medicines, etc. Both of these trends are tending toward giving every individual a more equal chance before the law, removing the weight of the past to allow diversity to flourish. William O. Douglas calls for exactly this sort of reform in his *Points of Rebellion* as essential for the nation's future. "There are only two choices," he argues, "a police state in which all dissent is suppressed or rigidly controlled; or a society where law is responsive to human needs. If society is to be responsive to human needs, a vast restructuring of our laws is essential."[15]

These changes in the law require from social studies teachers a far more realistic appraisal of where reality fails to meet rhetoric in our society. Social studies teachers are in a particularly favorable position to help students see the possibility—and desirability—of change by helping them to examine critically whether institutions are meeting the needs of the present and whether they have the flexibility to work in the future. In fact, many young radicals trace their disillusionment to high school classes which taught a whitewashed, Pollyannaish view of American society. The shock of seeing how remote that picture was from reality turned them permanently against the system. Jerry Rubin expresses this viewpoint when he argues against educational reform, because the present imbecilic system is the strongest radicalizing force in the nation.[16]

The schools themselves are, if not changing, at least in a position where we can see clearly what kinds of changes must be made if they are to serve any useful function in educating people for the future. If we are to believe Charles Silberman's *Crisis in the Classroom*, Frederic Wiseman's "High School," and countless underground high school publications, the schools are in terrible shape, providing little education and operating according to an outdated system designed with the needs of an older society in mind. Many observers have noted the analogy between schools and factories. Schools are built like factories, and run by clocks, bells, and rigid schedules. They slice time and learning into neat, manageable packages; they process large numbers of students (raw material) in standardized groups into finished products useful to industry: obedient, punctual people who can tolerate long stretches of boredom and who can follow orders mechanically. This product was certainly what society needed to run the factories, but as technology changes the economy, the qualities produced in the factory-school become less and less useful.

In the words of Alvin Toffler:

> The technology of tomorrow requires not millions of lightly lettered men, ready to work in unison at endlessly repetitious jobs, it requires not

> men who take orders in unblinking fashion, aware that the price of bread is mechanical submission to authority, but men who can make critical judgments, who can weave their way through novel environments, who are quick to spot new relationships in the rapidly changing reality. It requires men who, in C. P. Snow's compelling term, "have the future in their bones."[17]

As imagination, creativity, and self-direction become more socially desirable qualities, we are witnessing the emergence of many alternatives to the public school sausage works, and the trend will increase.

It seems quite likely that within a few decades—perhaps sooner—people of all ages will be able to choose from many different kinds of public, private, formal and informal schooling extending loosely over a lifetime. Compulsory attendance will certainly be eliminated for adolescents, who will be able to learn through a wide variety of self-selected experience-based activities founded upon interest. The distinctions now drawn between life at home, in the community, and in school will become blurred or wiped out entirely, and it will nearly be impossible to define even what a school *is*. People will learn through loose apprenticeships, through computer and telephone hookups, through participation in whatever interests them. At various times throughout their lives, people will want to undertake more formal studies; at times they will teach. As everyone will be both teacher and student, the gap between those two categories will be removed. Education and work alike will move out of the centralized location and into the community and the home.

In this situation, if certified social studies teachers continue to exist, their certificates will be irrelevant to whatever learning may be going on. The real teachers—certified or not—will be those who can relate to people informally and helpfully as they explore society. In or out of school, a student needs resource people to assist him, to challenge him, and to learn with him. If formally prepared social studies teachers can do this, they will find students gravitating toward them. If they cannot help people learn, all the professional credentials in the world will not bring them students in a noncoercive system where students can find their own teachers.

There are some clear directions teachers and schools might begin to take if they are interested in having a future in education. The structure of curricula and the organization of the school itself ought to permit maximum variety and flexibility, not only because of changing realities which need to be embodied in the curriculum, but also because just as obedient, unimaginative people are produced by the school-as-factory, we need to create schools which duplicate the complex, diverse, and rapidly changing conditions of the larger society if we wish to educate people who can easily negotiate that society.

Furthermore, though students certainly need some common skills in the areas of communication, social interaction, and manipulation of data, it is increasingly impossible to justify forcing every person to acquire those skills by the same route. Why spend two years studying French? It has value, but is it more valuable than, for instance, computer programming or ecology? Why study history as the only means of understanding social organization and change? Why not learn the same concepts through game simulations based upon problems likely to arise in the future? Given that there is not enough time in a school year to study everything, why must curricula emphasize superficial surveys? Why not depth studies of varying length depending on the subject and the interests of the students? Every teacher knows it is possible to teach the same concept in a number of different ways. Let's recognize that fact in practice, even if it means more work—even if it means learning something new right along with the students. Why not scrap curricula entirely, and let students and teachers organize themselves into elective study groups? Why not move away from our preoccupation with learning from the past, and from books, and treat these as merely options for learning, equal but not superior to simulations, field projects, or electronic media studies? Why shouldn't social studies teachers engage in real social experiments with students, such as communes?

This is emphatically not an argument that teachers have no skills to teach their students. Rather, those skills are now being taught in an outdated context which prevents students from experiencing the intellectual and emotional excitement of learning in a context that helps them comprehend their own lives and world. Teach Victorian literature, but also teach science fiction and multimedia art forms—students can study the same artistic concepts through any medium. Teach "social problems" if you must, but also offer Oriental philosophy, situation ethics, the history of revolutions, strategies for institutional change, comparative life styles, and socio-political simulations and let your students choose. If you do not, you will find them out in the world learning for themselves, and your classrooms will eventually be deservedly empty.

## Preparing Social Studies Teachers for the Future

This new breed of future-oriented, flexible social studies teachers will need a different kind of preparation from what is presently offered in either schools of education or liberal arts colleges. The most essential component of that preparation will be a broad background in interdisciplinary, problem-solving studies. Prospective teachers should have as much contact as possible with people in the university and outside it who are breaking out of the fragmented, specialist approach to learning and are looking at the world from new perspectives.

What is *not* needed is the traditional, prescribed undergraduate social science curriculum, progressing slowly from basics to complex, specialized issues, with each course a prerequisite for what follows. The time involved in teaching social science this way is too costly. Students can learn what they need to know rapidly and efficiently through individualized instruction based upon advanced information retrieval systems. The progression from simple to complex can be as rapid as the student's ability and interest dictate. Time now spent on wasteful studying methods based upon dated memorization techniques can be utilized on the one hand for rapid computer-assisted learning, and on the other for active involvement in the creative learning activities which cannot be taught by machines.

Under individualized instruction, students will be able to learn their discipline better, more efficiently, and more broadly. Needed concepts can be explicated in a variety of ways, utilizing the best teachers, the most useful analogies, the most thorough and imaginative computer programs. For any given concept, a student will not be locked into one professor's viewpoint and explication, but rather will be able to approach it from as many different methods as are required for him to understand: books, films, computers, simulations, field work, apprenticeship, and so on.

The skills which social studies teachers will need—such as the ability to analyze, to synthesize, to discard old patterns and create new ones—will be taught from a variety of elective subject matters rather than a prescribed curriculum, making use not only of existing data about the past, but also probabilities, projections, and simulations about the present and the future. This does not mean that we should tack a week of futurism onto the tired old syllabi. We need to make a drastic shift in priorities, spending by far the majority of our time on future-oriented studies. These studies will no doubt be built upon the traditional disciplines, but they will have an entirely new focus: the development of skills relevant to teaching social studies in a futuristic way.

In terms of their skills as educators, successful social studies teachers will have to learn teaching based upon "do as I do," not "do as I say." The criterion for success will increasingly become the ability to engage in learning experiences along with the students. Abraham Maslow has drawn a distinction between "interior" and "exterior" learning which indicates the shift in focus involved:[18] the business of the successful

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social studies teacher will be not to provide information to be absorbed more or less passively (exterior learning), but rather to provide experiences for students in which the concepts learned acquire personal significance (interior learning).

It is already impossible to teach successfully by the old model used in relatively stagnant societies, where children need approximately the same skills as their fathers. Too many teachers still believe deep down that if they can only recapture the memory of their own youth, they will be able to make contact with the minds of their students. That may have been possible early in this century, but now, however close a teacher is able to get to his own childhood experience, it is so dated as to be nearly useless. Now even eighteen-year-olds speak of a "generation gap" between themselves and twelve-year-olds. As Margaret Mead has observed, it will never again be the job of teachers to reproduce a new generation exactly like themselves. Every generation will be a totally new cultural phenomenon, making totally new demands upon educators.

Consequently, the only teaching method which is likely to make much sense to students will be based upon experiences shared in common by teacher and student. The teacher's past experience may be longer than the student's—but it is not necessarily richer, not necessarily as appropriate to changed conditions. A common example of this kind of disparity occurs when white suburbanites teach Black children in inner-city schools. The teacher's experience, however broad, is of little use in class because it does not relate to the children's experience. As our society becomes increasingly varied and complex, teachers will have to be learners right alongside their students. Their particular expertise will be *learning processes,* not information as such.

Another clear implication is that social studies teachers cannot expect to graduate from four or five years of college fully prepared to be all things to all people. As compulsory public school attendance withers away or mutates, teachers cannot expect to be equally well prepared to teach every student. No particular set of skills can be relied upon to meet every situation; thus, preparation of teachers will have to emphasize the development of skills and understandings which are particularly related to the specific style and problems of students the teacher is interested in at that point. As the teacher becomes interested in working with a different group of students, he or she can return to the university or some other learning center for another phase of what will be a continuing, lifelong education.

This continuing process of education can have very beneficial effects within the university itself. The university has always been, at best, a place where the early forms of social change can be most readily assessed

and understood, but this capacity relates directly to the extent to which the substance of change is actually experienced on campus. Some rather grim recent illustrations of this point are the killings at Kent State and the bombing at Madison. These events forced the highly talented social analysts at those institutions and others to confront the issues raised by those events immediately and concretely. More positively, the effect of a continuing turnover of students (and faculty) who move freely back and forth from work to study will be to bring a new reality to academic studies. The university will become a place where active scholars return to analyze and integrate their experiences as teachers, and to acquire new skills needed to confront new problems, people, and life styles.

The education of a social studies teacher, then, will never be complete. But at every stage, it will probably be based upon some continuing areas of inquiry applied to new issues, with the emphasis upon skills and processes rather than factual data. First, social studies teachers will need to be thoroughly trained in the scientific method of inquiry into social issues. In the absence of a fixed body of data called "social studies," their principal expertise will be in teaching students to learn for themselves. Equally important will be a thorough mastery of the art of teaching by analogy as a first approach rather than a last resort, for introducing students to new experiences and providing them with a good model for approaching unfamiliar territory.

A second area of key importance will be a thorough understanding of processes of decision-making in individuals, groups, and institutions. An important aspect of this study will be to learn and teach the important distinctions between the private life of the individual, which must be inviolate, and the collective life of institutions and groups—those activities which ought to be public because they affect more than one person. One of the most important functions of good social studies teachers will be to make clear the decision processes of public agencies and their consequences, both anticipated and unanticipated. At present, without such skills, most people are uninformed about the workings of institutions—as distinct from their rhetoric—until they become personally involved with them. Social studies teachers ought to be providing young people with change skills so that when they confront recalcitrant or indifferent or obsolete institutions, they will be able to respond positively. To neglect the responsibility for teaching these skills—the modern counterpart of the idealistic but rather useless civics course—is to be responsible for condoning the alternative, violence. Social studies teachers need not take political positions to do this. They should teach not *what* to change, but *how*.

The art of gaming will be another important skill which the social

studies teacher will constantly be studying. In order to permit students to experiment with designing positive solutions and testing their consequences, and to see where tendencies and ideas lead, teachers should be able to help students create models and systems which allow the testing of specific alternatives to real problems.

In accord with the principle "you become what you do," teachers will need to be able to involve their students in decision-making about the structuring of common educational experiences so that they will become skilled in designing cooperative solutions, and in analyzing the balance between the needs of individuals and groups—the distinction between freedom and hubris. The teacher in this sense will be accountable to his students for the nature of the educational experiences to which he exposes them.

Presently the most forward-looking social studies teachers tend to adopt the "problems" approach to social issues, based upon the assumption that deviancies are small pockets of trouble in an otherwise smoothly-running system. Juvenile delinquency, for instance, was a popular "problem" for social studies teachers when there were apparently few delinquents. Now, it is almost impossible to define delinquency; it is no longer a meaningful distinction in a society full of aberration. The fragmentizing "problems" approach is chiefly analytical; a good definition of the problem has been the goal, and the special skill, of social studies teachers. But social studies teachers of the future will have to take this as their starting point. With the immediate and vast information available through electronic media, students can define problems for themselves. Furthermore, minority groups are fed up with research delineating problems without suggesting solutions. They are tired of the fragmentizing, negative "compensatory" approach which defines them as having a series of separate deficiencies which must be made up for. Teachers will need to be able to identify *positive* elements of problem situations and to design creative solutions, building upon those elements which solve more than one problem at a time. Schools of education need to get away from justifying the mistakes of past and present actions and begin to teach students the skills needed to design new solutions.

Finally, social studies teachers need a thorough understanding of the processes of social change: how to analyze existing institutions, revise those which need revision, create new ones where needed, and replace or discard those with no prospect of performing positive functions. The teacher must help students to see institutional processes and consequences rationally so that students desiring change can work toward it knowledgeably and positively.

A number of changes will have to be made in teacher training institutions if they are to provide this kind of preparation for social studies teachers. Some of these changes are already taking form in some schools of education, and others will require considerable effort on the part of people committed to change. Already the number of optional methods of teacher training is increasing in many schools, allowing for greater flexibility, experimentation, and individualization of instruction. At the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, for example, students can participate in the Institute of Education, which grants a full year's credit for students engaging in an approved project which they see as related to their development as educators. More such options are needed.

Schools of education will also have to begin cooperating in an integrated manner with many other groups within and outside the university to prepare social studies teachers. Even now, much of the specialized training of teachers takes place outside the school of education in the several liberal arts disciplines. To provide the broad background and active involvement that are essential for good social studies teachers, schools of education should take the initiative in designing comprehensive interdisciplinary experiences making more use of community resources which involve work on real issues in education and in society. As certification becomes less and less important, schools of education will have difficulty justifying their continued existence unless they can demonstrate that they offer real skills, knowledge, and experiences for teacher-educators. These suggestions are a start.

## Conclusion

In light of these speculations, a social studies teacher today would do well to examine the adequacy of his own preparation and skills. He should ask himself such questions as: What skills does he possess which will enable him to deal with events which have not yet occurred? What skills and experiences does he have in initiating and providing leadership for institutional change? What skills does he possess to enable him to design non-compensatory programs which integrate positive aspects of students' home, school, and street life? What multiple life styles has he experienced which will give him credibility with his students? What substantive reasons can he offer for accepting or rejecting any life style he may encounter? What are the personal and philosophical origins of those reasons? What experiences would he refuse to engage in with his students, and for what reasons?

Prospective social studies teachers should attempt to answer those questions honestly, for it is no longer the case that anyone can make it as a teacher. Until recently, George Bernard Shaw's acerbic remark—He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches—was all too accurate. But there is no longer a teacher shortage. When compulsory education laws are abolished or relaxed to admit wide-ranging alternatives, teachers who lack future-oriented skills will be the first to lose their students physically, as they are now losing them intellectually and emotionally. At the same time, the idea of who is a teacher is expanding to include many talented and competent non-professionals. Teaching is becoming a very demanding profession, requiring an unprecedented degree of commitment, skill and experience.

If present trends continue, education, which has been too often dull, will be exciting. Where it too often made little difference in students' lives, it will make a big difference. And all of these things may regretfully happen without the involvement of social studies teachers, because they should be models of change but many are not. There is little evidence that as a group they are any more able to make the needed changes than are any other teachers. At best, changes in curriculum and teacher preparation are being made too slowly, even from a conservative revisionist perspective, when what is required is an extensive rethinking of the whole scope and purpose of education.

There is, in short, little reason for hope that most social studies teachers and other professional educators will be participants in the educational renaissance which may soon be happening. We are all either part of the problem or part of the solution as we work toward a future-oriented education. It is a choice we each must make.

## FOOTNOTES

[1] Some basic premises of this paper are extensions of ideas first expressed in Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Random House, 1970).

[2] See *Future Shock*, Chapter 2, "The Accelerative Thrust."

[3] Norman Mailer, "Prisoner of Sex," *Harper's*, CCXLII (March, 1971), p. 92. Reprinted by permission of the author and the author's agents, Scott Meredith Literary Agency, Inc., 580 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10036.

[4] Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1968), Chapter 1.

[5] Richard Buckminster Fuller, *I Seem to Be a Verb* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970), p. 187a. The book is designed to make page citation inadequate. You will have to read the whole thing.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 186b.

[7] William O. Douglas, *Points of Rebellion* (New York: Vintage Publishing Co., 1970), p. 15.

[8] David Cooper, *The Death of the Family* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 4.

[9] Erik Erickson, "The Life Cycle: Epigenesis of Identity," *Identity, Youth and Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1968), p. 99.

[10] See *Rags*, June, 1971, special section on marriage.

[11] Robert Rimmer, *Proposition Thirty-One* (New York: New American Library, 1969).

[12] Richard A. Gardner, *A Boys & Girls Book About Divorce* (New York: Science House, 1970).

[13] Aldous Huxley, *Island* (New York: Bantam Books, 1962).

[14] Abraham Maslow, "Some Educational Implications of the Humanistic Psychologies," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXXVIII, No. 4 (Fall, 1968), p. 695.

[15] William O. Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[16] Jerry Rubin, *Do It: A Revolutionary Manifesto* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970).

[17] Alvin Toffler, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

[18] Abraham Maslow, *op. cit.*, pp. 685-696.

# Appendix

## The Child in the Urban Environment: A Review of Literature and Research

# The Child in the Urban Environment: A Review of Literature and Research

O. Fred Donaldson and Robert A. Aldrich*

> There was a child went forth every day,
> And the first object he looked upon, that object
> he became,
> And that object became part of him for the day
> or a certain part of the day,
> Or for many years or stretching cycles of years.
> The early lilacs became part of this child,
> And grass, and red and white morning glories,
> and white and red clover . . .
> And all the changes of city and country wherever
> he went . . .
> They became part of that child who went forth every day,
> And who now goes, and will always go forth every day.
>
> *Walt Whitman*[1]

What does a child look upon as he goes forth in the modern city? The city is an integral part of the daily life of the child; his growth and development are conditioned by it. Jean Canaux has written that "the city is made by and for different and complementary human beings."[2] Yet there is little known concerning the relation between the environment and social behavior.[3]

There is very serious doubt that children are included in this process. There has been a definite lack of concern for the impact of the city on children and the role of children in the city.[4] That planners have been

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*See Chapter 7, page 185, for biographical data on* O. Fred Donaldson.

more concerned with denotative than connotative meanings of space is especially relevant when children are concerned.[5] In too many cases the play space of children is "SLOAP" (Space Left Over After Planning).[6] Some would say that we have gone so far that we make better provision for cats and dogs in our cities than we do for our children.[7]

The city that lacks all evidence of children's activities and special rhythm of life is a cruel facade of human life. "All the more since the children themselves are never guilty of the basic negligence man inflicts on them."[8] It is time to recognize the child as a human being and a geographer, for he is the only explorer who can lead us in making the urban environment more compatible with the "magic terrain of childhood." "The city cannot discover the city unless the city rediscovers its children: the discovery must be reciprocal or it is no discovery at all."[9]

Hence, the purpose of this chapter is twofold: 1. to review the existing literature on children and the urban environment; 2. to suggest research implications and priorities. The review of the literature is divided into four parts: (1) general perception studies, (2) child development studies, (3) children's perceptions as reflected in poetry, prose, and art, and (4) studies of children's perceptions of the environment. We believe that each of these areas provides insights which together form a comprehensive outline of the child in the city.

## General Perception Studies

General studies of environmental perception not only provide an introduction to this area of research, but also provide insights into methodologies and hypotheses that can be adapted to study the impact of the urban environment on the child. It appears that most of the work in the area of environmental perception has been done with adults.

One of the pioneering works in the area of environmental perception was done by Kevin Lynch. Although his work was not done with children, it offers many insights into approaches to the study of children's perception of the city. Lynch's work is rich with methodology that can be adapted to work with children. He has used three methods in his studies, all of which can be used with children. For example, the respondent may be interviewed about his past experiences;[10] on the other hand, the interviewer and the subject may experience and discuss the environment simultaneously.[11] A third methodology includes a combination of both these approaches.[12]

One of the important aspects of perception methodology is map drawing. Gulick questions map drawing as a method of obtaining information, "We are likely to forget that many people, maybe most, do not think in terms of maps and are not skilled at drawing them."[13] He has brought out two distinct yet related problems. First, do people think in terms of maps? In answering that question we must be careful not to restrict our definition of map. People may think in terms of maps, but since "map" may mean a sophisticated cartographic layout they do not recognize their minds' ramblings as such a "map." Second, one may be skilled in drawing his "map" but not so skilled in making it conform to his conception of what a map is "supposed" to look like. This reflects what Mayer has called "the general American failure to recognize drawing as an intellectual tool."[14] The result has been that most children in American schools never map anything themselves, even though the map is at least as important to geography as the laboratory experiment is to chemistry. We would not be surprised if the use of road maps and other formal maps in school and on TV has conditioned people to make this distinction between "maps" and drawing.

Perhaps the pitfalls can be avoided if we remember what Greenhood has written concerning maps and mapping. He has defined mapping as " 'The Science of Whereabouts'." "Map-making is a kind of authorship. Maps, like stories, have main theme, point of view, plot and style."[15] Thus, the communication potential of maps, like writing, painting, and singing, depends both on the sender and the receiver.

If our argument is valid, the researcher has the problem of what term to use to get at the respondent's image. Does he use the term "map," or "drawing," or "picture"? When asking a child for his perception of his environment, what are the differences in the results of asking a child to make a map, or picture, or drawing of his neighborhood? Further, do these terms imply different things at different ages? There are other techniques besides mapping which can be used to elicit some measures of one's perception of his environment. DeJonge, for example, uses an approach in which the respondent assigns + or − valences to parts of his environment.[16] Another methodological innovation is the use of the Semantic Differential.[17] General perception studies also present ideas from which hypotheses concerning the environmental perception of children can be derived.

The following questions, to which there are no answers as yet, are derived largely from the various works of Lynch. Are certain environments (lawns, lakes, trees, hills) associated with pleasure and freedom? Do children like spaciousness; if so, can there be too much space? Is there a desire for enclosed private spaces away from adult authority? Certain aspects of the environment (lawn size, character of building, number of families per building) seem to be evaluated by adults in terms of social status. At what age do these and/or other elements take on status importance? Is happiness at home inversely proportional to the

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range of wandering of a child or adolescent in the city? Is there a difference in perception of the environment between wandering and task-oriented movement? How does the size of the child's neighborhood vary with his age and personality?

The individual perceives his environment as an ordered pattern and tries to order his surroundings.[18] It would seem then that the child, like the adult, would assign specific social activities to specific spaces and consequently these areas carry specific "meanings."[19] On the other hand, is it the case for children that adults designate which activities are to take place in which places? It would seem that the latter is the cause of much of the urban problem as it relates to youth.

Space ends where social interactions of individuals or of groups end.[20] Changes in territory, for example, lead to alterations in behavior and vice versa.[21] Because the child does not have the mobility of adults, his "space" tends to be smaller and grows as his parents and society allow him to move in larger areas. There are probably age-grade territorial stages through which the child passes. These might be categorized as follows: (1) crib, (2) crawling, (3) walking in the house, (4) yard, (5) street, (6) elementary school neighborhood, (7) high school neighborhood, (8) car.

Doxiadis has divided the environment into fifteen divisions ranging from the room to ecumenopolis.[22] The eight divisions that we set forth above fall within the lower range of Doxiadis' scale. Whatever categorization is used, a key question remains: At what age does the child recognize the larger scale environments? Brower has put forth four types of territorial occupancy: (1) personal occupancy, (2) community occupancy, (3) occupancy by society, (4) free occupancy.[23] As the territory increases in size the interest group which controls the behavior gets larger and the behavior that is allowed becomes more general. Although Brower seems to have meant the four types to be descriptions of spaces themselves, it would seem that they are also developmental spatial occupancies having relationships to the eight stages noted above. Personal occupancy, for example, is foremost in the crib and in the yard; community occupancy is dominant in the street through the elementary school; occupancy at the societal level is predominant in the high school and car stages. Some interesting questions arise as to the relationships between the age and race of the child, the location of his school in relation to his home, and bussing. Race and ethnicity clearly play a determining role in the answers to all of the questions put forth here. Since group membership is at least in part a function of age, do younger children who are not yet members of groups larger than the family recognize larger scale territories as somehow belonging to them?

Another interesting set of questions can be derived from Doxiadis' five principles leading to the formation of human settlements: (1) maximization of potential contacts; (2) minimization of effort; (3) optimization of protective space; (4) optimization of relations with other elements; (5) optimization in synthesis of all principles.[24] Are not these the mini-max problems that the individual tries to solve in his everyday life? How does the child approach this mini-max problem in the yard, in the house, in the neighborhood? Are there ages at which certain principles seem to dominate a child's spatial activity?

Webber has pointed out that space, place, and distance have different meanings for various social classes of people.[25] This has also been emphasized in the work of Gans,[26] Suttles,[27] Schorr,[28] Ryan,[29] and Geismar and Krisberg.[30] Do the children's perceptions correspond to those of their parents along class lines?

Answers to these questions are at best tentative. We raise them as illustrations of a rich field of inquiry open to teachers and researchers alike. It is clear that general research in the area of environmental perception has value both in terms of possible methodology and hypotheses to be tested in working with children.

## Child Development

"Where there is life, there must be play."[31]

As the child grows and matures he passes through, or perhaps more accurately, is exposed to widening, more complex environments. These environments contain things, people, time and space patterns. This section reviews the literature on child development in an effort to gain insights into the child's perception of his urban environment. More specifically, what are the implications of the stages of growth and development for the child's perception of the urban environment?

It is not our purpose here to outline all of the maturation stages through which a child passes, but to discuss some of them that play an important role in his development as a "geographer." Neither is it our intent to assume or prove that all children pass through the same stages at the same time. Perhaps the sequence is not even standard. The best that can be done is to suggest that children pass through a series of continuous stages in which their world becomes larger.

It is important to recognize that there may be significant differences not only between the responses of children of different cultural and social backgrounds but also between the environmental stimuli presented to these children. For example, the lives of children in rural and urban poverty are different and both are vitally different from that of middle-class children.[32] Dennison found that Jose "did not orient himself in space and time as do middle-class boys of thirteen."[33] Coles and Piers also found that children from a poor urban project developed skills in dealing with their environment which are absent in well-cared-for children. At three, for example, a child could go shopping across dangerous intersections.[34] Likewise, "by the age of four a child living in Blackmoor can cross busy intersections alone going to and from the store."[35] These children stop asking for parental permission to come and go much earlier than the middle-class child.[36] The child learns the language and skills of the street long before he learns the language and skills of the school. In effect, his childhood is deferred; " 'They are too much men [and women] to be boys [and girls] and too much boys [and girls] to be men [and women]'."[37]

Through play the child learns the lessons of life; he imitates the life that he sees around him. If the child sees a hostile environment, he still plays but the play is modeled after the only activity he knows—life as he sees it. Even more fundamentally, a particular child reacts selectively to his surroundings and creates his own world within them.[38] Because this is the case, one must seek to understand the individual child and his world.

Murphy has recognized four stages from birth to two years based on the expanding spatial range of the child. These are: (1) the newborn stage, (2) the period of six to fifteen months (3) the period of one to two years, and (4) the period of two years and after. Murphy argues that the need for tactile stimulation and comfort is most important for the newborn. Obviously, this takes place within a very small space, one that can be reached by the baby's arms and legs. Swaddling and physical handling provide the spatial security which is transitional between the womb and the outside world.[39] The kind and amount of stimulation that the child receives during these first years seem to be very important in the development of his ability to relate to his widening external world.[40] The child's search for playthings during these first years expands from his own body, feet and hands, to external toys. Between one and two years, the child begins to leave the "touch" environment: this is the time of greater spatial mobility, creeping and walking. C. A. Aldrich put this increase in movement into its social perspective as follows:

> Walking always brings a great change in the family attitude toward the baby. While he is stationary and exercising his learning powers he has a cheerful relationship with his family but when he begins to move in adult areas his social atmosphere changes. He has reached the "no-no" stage of development.[41]

With this growing enlargement of his spatial envelope, the child ascribes a separate existence to himself and other people.[42] For example, he watches for balls to reappear when rolled under a piece of furniture. This process of floor play reflects a child's geographic thinking.[43] Toys begin to move and interact spatially, blocks and boxes form maps—all of which reflect the geographical and social relationships experienced by the child.

As has probably been true of all of the world's famous explorers, in order for the child to explore with zest, the permanency of a home base must be a certainty.[44] This socio-spatial process takes place as the child gradually moves away from his mother and yet continually tests her permanency.[45] It is important for the child to know that he can alter his position in space, but that his mother retains a stable position relative to him. The world of the very young is bounded by their eyes and ears; what they do not see or hear does not exist.

> This idea that people only exist when they can be seen or heard or felt is not such a strange one as it appears at first glance. It requires knowledge and experience and a rather complicated mental process to envisage people and places going on about their usual business when one is not present.[46]

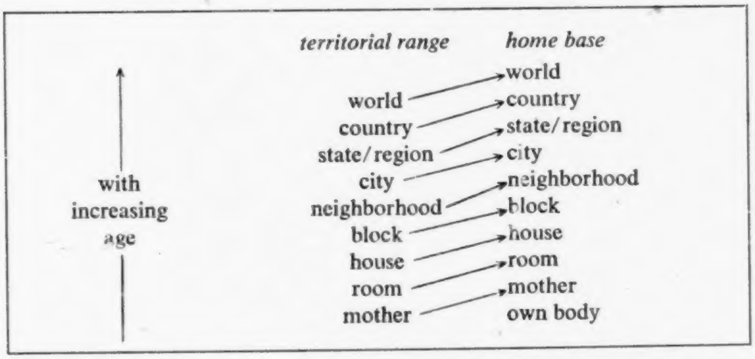
The newly found joys and exploits of walking present a dilemma for the toddler.

> Without being able to put it into words, he often wonders how he can possibly follow the lure of the wide-open spaces filled with fascinating things . . . and still hang on to his soft, warm, protective mother. Many toddlers solve the problem by taking a cuddly blanket with them on their travels, thereby inventing a "portable instant mom." The toddler carries his instant mom with him into the dangerous territory beyond the crib.[47]

Leontine Young relates an incident that indicates the "close to home" socio-spatial symbolization of the young—

> . . . like the little girl who happily surveyed her whole family gathered peacefully in the kitchen and remarked with deep satisfaction, "It's so nice, everybody is sitting in the stomach of the house." The "stomach of the house" could be nothing but the kitchen. The feeling of unity and safety was real and true, and it was accurately and specifically located.[48]

As the spatial range of the child expands so does the "home base." When a child expands his realm to include his neighborhood, his home base becomes his home. The following diagram presents a generalized schematic hierarchy of home bases and territorial ranges and the relationships between them.


territorial range
home base
world
country
state/region
city
neighborhood
block
house
room
mother
world
country
state/region
city
neighborhood
block
house
room
mother
own body
with increasing age

As one gets older, both territorial range and definitions of home base become larger. The developmental sequence is such that the territorial range at one level of experience becomes the home base for the next stage in exploration. Hanna *et al.* have presented a spatial scheme in which the child is centered in eight concentric realms: family, school, neighborhood, city, state, region, country, world.[49] Mitchell also has developed a sequential chart of geographic thinking.[50] Young relates still another incident which gives some insight into the spatial realms of children. Two boys were studying the solar system model at the New York Hayden Planetarium, the older one, about twelve, explaining its wonders to the younger one, about six. The younger boy after listening with growing impatience could contain himself no longer: " 'Yes, Yes that's fine. But what I want to know: Where is New York?' "[51]

## The Child's Perception of the Urban Environment as Reflected in Poetry, Novels, Art, and Other Writing

O the world, all the world
is at my feet
but I have no window
to see out

*Anon.*[52]

Since every child is a geographer it is not surprising that the pictures he draws and the writing that he does reflect his perception of the environment in which he lives. A child's talking, writing, and drawing about his world are the most direct means of obtaining this kind of information. The problem is not the availability of data or data sources; the data are there but most adults have not known where to look. The writing of children themselves and general writing about children are reviewed here for information on how the urban child perceives his world. There seem to be at least four socio-spatial themes in the writing of the urban child. First, there are two separate worlds, his own and the outer world. Second, there is a theme of movement or lack of it. Third, there is the nature of the conditions in which the child lives. Fourth, there is the role of certain institutions in the child's environment.

The essence of the first theme has been expressed by Nellie Holloway, aged sixteen, when she wrote that "I'm locked in the outsides of the white man's world . . . "[53] and by Vogel in the title of his book *The Other City*.[54] This theme is echoed by an eighteen-year-old young man living in Spanish Harlem.

> But, man, ever since I was a little kid this was my block, the block of the fellows who live on it. It was our property and we govern it and we make our own laws and no outsider or no people who don't live on the block can tell us what to do.[55]

This concept of two worlds, one Black and poor the other rich and white, is even more vivid to some young Black children of Harlem. Herbert Kohl, when a teacher in Harlem, took his sixth-grade class to the Metropolitan Museum. Upon their arrival the following discussion took place:

> "Mr. Kohl, where are we? In Long Island?"
>
> "Marie, this is Park Avenue and Eighty-sixth Street."
>
> She looked at me as if I were mad, then went to Pamela and told her Mr. Kohl said it was Park Avenue. The rumor spread through the class until finally a delegation of boys headed by Sam and Ralph approached and challenged me to prove it was Park Avenue. I pointed to the street signs and they looked as if they wanted to cry.
>
> "But where is Harlem? I live on Park Avenue—where are the tracks?"[56]

Allan's drawing of his neighborhood in Coles' *Children of Crisis* is another striking example of the perception of socio-spatial boundaries based on race.[57] Another example from Harlem is presented by Wakefield.

> The young children's group at the community center of the Good Neighbor Church on East 106th Street asked their teacher to take them again to Ward's Island, the small spot of green and uncluttered lawn that is just off the coast of the neighborhood in the East River. The teacher asked why they wanted to go there, and one of the kids explained that "we like to pretend that we're in a different world."[58]

David Schearl's ghetto world reached from the rat-infested cellars to the tenement roofs. Once, he met a stranger on his rooftop realm and knew from "that blond hair, those blue eyes" that he did not belong to Ninth Street.[59] The sense of social and spatial isolation implicit if not explicit in each of the above examples is carried to its extreme by an eleven-year-old boy as follows:

> The world outside of my window is
> like an unknown place
> like I'm in space
> like I come from out of nowhere
>
> *Robert Pierce*[60]

In much the same way that any group of people has a more finely developed conceptual framework for those aspects of life that are important to them, the ghetto children and youth know more about their inner world, which becomes socially and spatially differentiated, than they do about the outer world, which is perceived as a generalized whole. The division of territory into "turfs" by urban gangs is an example of spatial differentiation. Novels such as *Down These Mean Streets,*[61] *The Cool World,*[62] and *Manchild in the Promised Land*[63] include examples of this type of urban socio-spatial activity. The boundaries and subdivisions of this urban world are seldom recognized by the outsider. But to an insider like Duke, "'I can feel when the street get a certain kind of quiet you know or it got a kind of feel'."[64] This territorial control is proclaimed partly through the urban iconography of the youths.

> When a gang writes
>
> Defenders turf—Junkies Keep out
>
> on a supermarket wall they are not merely labeling a wall that is already theirs, but actually claiming that wall as a boundary of their territory through the act of leaving their mark on it.[65]

The division of urban land into gang turfs influences intraurban mobility. For example, when the Philadelphia Community Action Council tried to help a mother with four children move to a more decent house, she would not go. The reason was because all of her sons belonged to the 13th Street gang and the "new" house was in the territory of the 2nd Street gang. The 2nd Street gang told her sons not to come into their area and their mother was not going.[66]

This inner world of the ghetto youth is very often spatially restricted.[67] They are what Schoor (1966) has called "block dwellers."[68] They do not feel at ease outside of their neighborhood, which may be their block. As Fried and Gleicher,[69] Suttles,[70] and Kazin[71] have indicated, there is a profound attachment or sense of belonging to specific regions and not to others. The immediate block is often the largest expanse of territory with which the child is familiar.[72]

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Spatial mobility also seems to be an important aspect of the lives of ghetto children.

> Poverty is often bearable if a familiar environment offers comfort and support. Uprootedness is often made bearable by financial resources and by a people's skills, knowledge and a rich cultural tradition. But uprootedness compounded by poverty damages not only the body but the soul.[73]

This same point has been made more succinctly by a young man of eighteen from Spanish Harlem. " 'Forget it, man, let me live in this rat hole that I have now, that I know, instead of some other rat hole that I don't know'."[74] From the child's point of view, it is important to remember that it is adults that choose the spatial context of youth's lives. "No child chooses his city, his neighborhood, or his block. No child chooses the moment when his family will pack up and go somewhere else."[75] Spatial mobility on the part of the individual child seems to be at least in part an attempt to enlarge his world, to bridge the spatial gap between his "block" and the outer world. As a child from Harlem said, " 'I wish I was South with my people. There's space down there'."[76]

Various forms of transportation become important to the children as means of escape. "If you have a bicycle you can ride and go anywhere you want to." Another young man wrote, "I went on a ferryboat ride once. I didn't want to come back. I wanted to stay on the water."[77] Streetcar riding on Sunday afternoon was the way many children learned about their city.[78] For other children, their means of escape is through a symbol, a bird—

Little Bird

Take me away with you, please
Let me see all that you see.
Let me for once feel that I am free
Free of the world around me . . . .

*Evelyn June Murray,* age 14[79]

A significant if not the major portion of the urban child's life is spent in the street. The street becomes the home.[80] " 'The street hooks them. It's so much nothing it's a drug'."[81] Ethel Waters adds, "I lived more in the street than at home."[82] This time in the street, according to Dennison, is spent more in the style of stray dogs than as adventurous young boys.[83] In order to understand the life of the very young ghetto children it is necessary to understand the lives of six- through eight-year-olds, for the young child spends most of his time in the street under the tutelage of older youths.[84]

The ghetto child is not indifferent to his environment; his writing indicates an acute awareness of the reality of death, dirt, violence, drugs, noise, power, police and "the Man." It is not a lack of experiences that deters the ghetto child. It is the type of experience. Rather than a deficit of stimuli, the child is often a victim of a veritable onslaught of sensory stimulation.[85] The following excerpts from children's writing reflect their keen environmental awareness.

> *On Housing:*
>
> When the city puts a stamp on your house you know you goin' somewhere.[86]
>
> . . . don't need any windows here cracks in the wall let enough light in . . . wind storm come along you might be on the roof all you need is a good wind.[87]
>
> Garbage, garbage, garbage, garbage . . .[88]
>
> When a building burns down, it's just left there, all burned out.[89]
>
> I could not stand the noise out on the street.[90]
>
> *On Drugs and Violence:*
>
> There are at least 25 or 30 narcotic people in my block.[91]
>
> My block is the worse block you ever saw people getting killed or stabbed men and women in buildings taking dope.[92]
>
> Around my block all you can see is drug addicts.[93]
>
> I wish they will stop killing people around my block.[94]
>
> *On Police and "the Man":*
>
> The cops come around there and try to act bad but I bet inside of them they are as scared as can be.[95]
>
> And when the police come around the block the block be so clean that nobody will get hurt.[96]
>
> I wouldn't want to be a cop. People call them bulls, flatfeet, fuzz, and pigs.[97]
>
> Mr. Charlie is scared in his Bostonian shoes and GGG suit. Now he hears about Now.[98]
>
> The landlord did a cheap job of painting and we had to go over it. He bought this kind of water paint.[99]
>
> *On Play:*
>
> You can play basketball with a fire escape ladder for a hoop.[100]
>
> A lot of kids play on fire escapes. I play on the roof.[101]
>
> A boy fell off the roof and he died and his mother cried because he didn't listen to her when she said, "Don't fly your kite on the roof," but he didn't listen to her.[102]

### *"Children are Subject Peoples"*

"There is a war in progress, a war between society and children."[103] Lyford has called this war "the process"; that is, the children are introduced to a style of existence that eventually cripples or destroys many of them.[104] As Hentoff and Kozol have indicated, many of the deaths are bloodless and as such are not recognized as killings.[105]

Each child symbolizes and identifies with the people and institutions in the environment which surrounds him. It is as evident to the ghetto child when he sees the environment in which he tries to survive that society's institutions treat him as worthless, as it is to the middle-class child when he sees the well-cared-for surroundings that those same institutions treat him as being worthwhile.[106] What the middle-class tends to call deficiencies in ghetto children can be regarded, in one sense, as adaptations to a hostile environment. "When all our energies are consumed in continually avoiding danger, we never have a chance to learn more refined methods of dealing with the environment."[107] For example, "it can be stated axiomatically that the schoolchild's chief expense of energy is self-defense against the environment."[108] The children in the North Point Project in Boston used all of their available strength just to keep alive.[109]

The assignment of institutional space reflects the society in which it occurs and expresses, in part, the values placed by that society on a favorable environment for children. Many times schools, public housing projects, and child-care "facilities" function as institutions which condemn children to a type of socio-spatial jail. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the young child has an imaginary world that is very "real" to him when the so-called real world is so indifferent, cruel, and frustrating. It is these institutions, among others, that incite violence in the young yet devise rules such that the child dare not retaliate. "He learns what he has been taught—to turn destruction upon a living creature that cannot hit back."[110] "When children must seek through manipulation the continuing and vital needs of life, they are no longer playing a game. They are caught in a desperate struggle which they have no chance of winning."[111]

It must seem to the child that one of the primary functions of these institutions in the ghetto is to "confine" him in time, in space, in mind, and in spirit. The school, for example, must transform young children with a "love affair with life" into young adults whose attitudes toward their environment are more likely to be fear, boredom, and revenge. This role of the school is especially tragic because it is largely through the school that the socio-spatial environment of the child is enlarged from the family to the public world.[112] Yet in the ghetto, the school is not of the community; there is often a boundary between the home and the school. In the Addams area of Chicago each school belongs to a particular ethnic group, based on location, precedent, and ethnicity of staff and students. Those schools which do not "belong" to a particular ethnic group are seen as dangerous. In this case, socio-spatial control is ambiguous, providing for conflict which confirms the local view that children should not stray out of their ethnic territory.[113]

### " 'Baby, they ain't wrote the script that can tell what this place is like' "[114]

The "place" is public housing. In 1964 1,100,000 children existed in these "urban poverty pockets" in the United States. In the project that Moore studied there were 7,000 children living and playing within its boundaries. The younger children of the projects use the corridors as "streets" and the landings as "alleys." Thus, the child living in the project opens his door into the alley, and runs and plays in the street—while he is still inside the buildings.[115] According to Suttles, the fact that Black children grow up in housing projects renders impossible many of the socialization processes common in other environments because the city government rules over much of their lives.[116]

As is the case with the school, the housing project carries with it a stigma. "Obviously, if you live in a place like that you must be a nigger, trash, illegitimate, disturbed, delinquent, thief, slow learner. . . ." Teenage girls, for example, may meet their dates in other parts of the city. Children who frequent the merchants just across the boundaries of the Blackmoor project are all treated as thieves.[117]

Another institution, or, more accurately, group of institutions, is the child-care facility. In 1960 there were 306,206 children and youth under the age of twenty-one in institutions which included homes for the dependent and neglected child, homes for unwed mothers, training schools for juvenile delinquents, public training schools for juvenile delinquents, private training schools, detention homes, diagnostic and reception centers, homes and schools for mentally retarded, and homes and schools for physically handicapped.[118] Coles and Piers have written that institutionalized children have no interest in what goes on around them; they look but they do not see.[119] Some of these institutions break down the socio-spatial linkages and arrangements whereby a child plays, works, and sleeps in different places with varying groups and under different authorities.[120] It is not hard to imagine that the same and even more severe stigmas are applied to children who reside in these places as those who live in public housing. These institutions have traditionally been isolated, walled off from the surrounding community.[121]

## Studies of the Child's Perception of the Urban Environment

> To thwart the desire of the child to explore his world is a dangerous suppression, affecting his entire mental outlook.[122]

We turn next to those studies which have examined the child's perception of his environment. As might be expected, there seem to be very few examples of this type of study.

Sieverts studied the perceptions of 230 children aged seven to seventeen living on the same block in Berlin, Germany. His results generally agree with the spatial-orientation ideas presented earlier in this chapter. That is, the size of the area drawn increases with age. He makes an additional point which agrees with our view of the limited size of the spatial realm of children who live in the ghetto: "probably in some social or educational underprivileged strata the image remains on an adolescent stage . . ."[123]

The work of ecological psychologists is valuable for the methodology that it offers. Shure, for example, has examined the impact of situational factors in an indoor nursery school on four-year-old children. Among factors that would seem to be useful in analyzing a child's life on the ghetto streets are population density in certain areas, the mobility of children, the appropriateness of activity to a given locale, and sex differences.[124] The work of Barker and Wright on the stream of behavior of small-town children can also be adapted to obtain the perceptions of children in the inner city.[125]

Some studies are being done at Clark University on the place perceptions of children which appear to be exciting, although they are not studying children from the ghetto.

It appears that more has been done in the development of children's play areas than in other areas of research. Pitt makes a point that has already been stressed. That is, there is a gradual process by which the child loosens the "apron strings" and adventures into the world. He suggests that ideally the child should have two outdoor play areas to help him progress through this socio-spatial process: his own play area, an extension of his home, to which he can invite friends or play alone, and a communal play area in which he is a co-participant with other children yet close enough so that he can return home.[126]

What seems to be implicit, if not explicit, in all the writing on children and their play areas is the need to develop play areas that offer maximum flexibility for children. The play area should be something intended for the child yet is discovered by him on his own. It should be something that he can adapt to his own imagination—a type of "Marvelous Toy," which, although the child never knew just what it was, it was his "heart's delight."[127]

Rather than describe several authors' ideas in detail, we offer a chart which attempts to synthesize what they have suggested:[128]

*Basic Themes in Play*

fantasy
imitation of adult world
adventure
physical development and coordination
safety yet not at expense of danger
variety—"Monotony is fatal"
not necessarily neat
take age into account
  a. child over 10 attracted by risk
  b. teenager attracted by promenade/meeting place
  c. fence for pre-schoolers to define area

*Basic Elements in Play Areas*

water—running, standing, hose
land—level, undulating
vegetation
structures for climbing, hiding, loose misc. equipment
sand
gardens
pets
rope
seats—adult and child
work benches
swings and slides

One question remains as we review these studies: Who thinks that the above list or any part thereof is what children want—the adult authors or the children? This is perhaps the most critical question to be applied to the types of literature reviewed here.

## Summary and Implications for Further Research

> Your children are not your children.
> They are the sons and daughters of Life's
> longing for itself.
> They come through you but not from you,
> And though they are with you yet they
> belong not to you.
>
> You may give them your love but not your
> thoughts,
> For they have their own thoughts.
> You may house their bodies but not their
> souls,
> For their souls dwell in the house of
> tomorrow, which you cannot visit, not even
> in your dreams.
> You may strive to be like them, but seek
> not to make them like you. . . .
>
> *Kahlil Gibran*[129]

Like Gibran's poem, the remarks that follow might be described as being "common sense" or axiomatic except for the fact that our cities do not reflect this kind of thinking. Thus, these points need to be made explicit.

First and most important, children are individual human beings, and as such they need and deserve self-respect. The face changes, loses its joy, the lines droop, when the self receives a shock. The Chinese express this thought as "din lien" or "face drooping." "One must do nothing to bring about this change, they say, for expression of the face is the outward manifestation of the inner being."[130] As Young has pointed out, the children's lack of power and ability to care for themselves has made it easy for adults to think of them as "small creatures in the process of becoming people."[131] All children are geographers; they are explorers from the time that as babies they discover that their toes belong to their bodies. As human beings and geographers, children must be included as integral parts of any planning for the urban environment. Indeed, "children in the first dozen years of their lives may well have to be considered the most important segment of the urban population."[132] But as important as children are to the life of the city, very little is known about how they perceive the urban environment.

Perhaps the most appropriate way to synthesize this review of the literature and indicate directions for further research is to present in outline form various methodologies related to a number of questions and hypotheses raised in this chapter.

I. Types of methodology which may be used to study the child's perception of the environment
    A. Interview
        1. simultaneously with experiencing of the environment
        2. subsequent to the experiencing of the environment
        3. combination of 1 and 2
    B. Drawing
        1. have child draw map
        2. present map (pre-drawn) to child
        3. "free drawing" (word map not used or implied) of environment by child
    C. "Free writing" of stories and poetry by children about their environment
    D. Semantic differential
        1. use + and − signs to indicate "feelings" about aspects of their environment
    E. Follow child around for a specified time period, recording everything that he does.

II. Questions and hypotheses concerning the child's perception of the urban environment
    A. Children pass through a series of age-graded territorial stages in which their world becomes larger with age.
        1. Spatial security is important for the child. That is, there is a need for a "home base" that has some permanency.
        2. As the spatial range of the child increases, the "home base" increases territorially.
    B. There are significant differences between the responses to the environment of children of different social and cultural backgrounds.
        1. There are significant differences between the types of environmental stimuli presented to children of varying backgrounds.
        2. Children living in the ghetto learn certain skills like crossing busy, dangerous intersections earlier than do middle-class children.
        3. The child in the inner city knows of two worlds, his own and the outside world.
        4. The inner world of the child in the ghetto is more spatially differentiated by him than is the outside world.
        5. The territory within which the inner-city youth feels comfortable is more restricted than that of the middle-class child.
        6. The child living in the ghetto is not indifferent toward his environment.
        7. The assignment and functioning of institutional space (schools, public housing projects, institutions) have a very important effect on the child's perception and reaction to his environment.
            a. In the ghetto these effects have been detrimental to the life of the child.
            b. Because of their location, precedent, and ethnicity of the users of these institutions, they belong to certain ethnic groups.
            c. There is a derogatory stigma attached to these places and to the people who use them.
            d. The children in "total" institutions (that is, institutions where most of their lives are spent within limited boundaries) have more restricted environments than the children who do not live in such facilities.
    C. Are there significant differences between the environmental perceptions of boys and girls?
    D. What are the effects of various mental and/or physical handicaps on children's environmental awareness?
    E. Are certain environments associated with pleasure and freedom?
    F. Do children like spaciousness?
        1. Is the desire for spaciousness related to how the child perceives his past and present position in space?
    G. Is there a need for private space among children?

H. At what age do certain aspects, and which aspects, of the environment take on social status significance for the child?

I. Is happiness at home inversely related to the range of wandering on the part of a child or adolescent in the city?

J. Is there a difference in environmental awareness between the wandering and task-oriented activities of children?

K. Does the child perceive an ordered pattern in his surroundings that is different from that of his parents?
   1. What are the differences between the meanings attached to places by adults and children?
   2. Do the environmental perceptions of children correspond more closely to those of their parents or to other children?

L. How does the child approach the mini-max problem of maximizing his potential contacts, minimizing his effort, and optimizing his protective space at various stages in his geographical development?

These questions call for a great deal of research. But our hope in raising them is that social studies teachers will become far more sensitive to the world of children. It is our world, too; but many of us are unaware of how much that world influences the day-to-day life of children. Some children recognize two very important facts that too many of their elders have either never learned or have long forgotten. First, adults spend considerably more time and effort in constructing new buildings than they do developing a magnificent human being. Second, only people are irreplaceable. If we accept these conclusions, our responsibility to improve the urban environment of children must become the nation's highest priority.

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